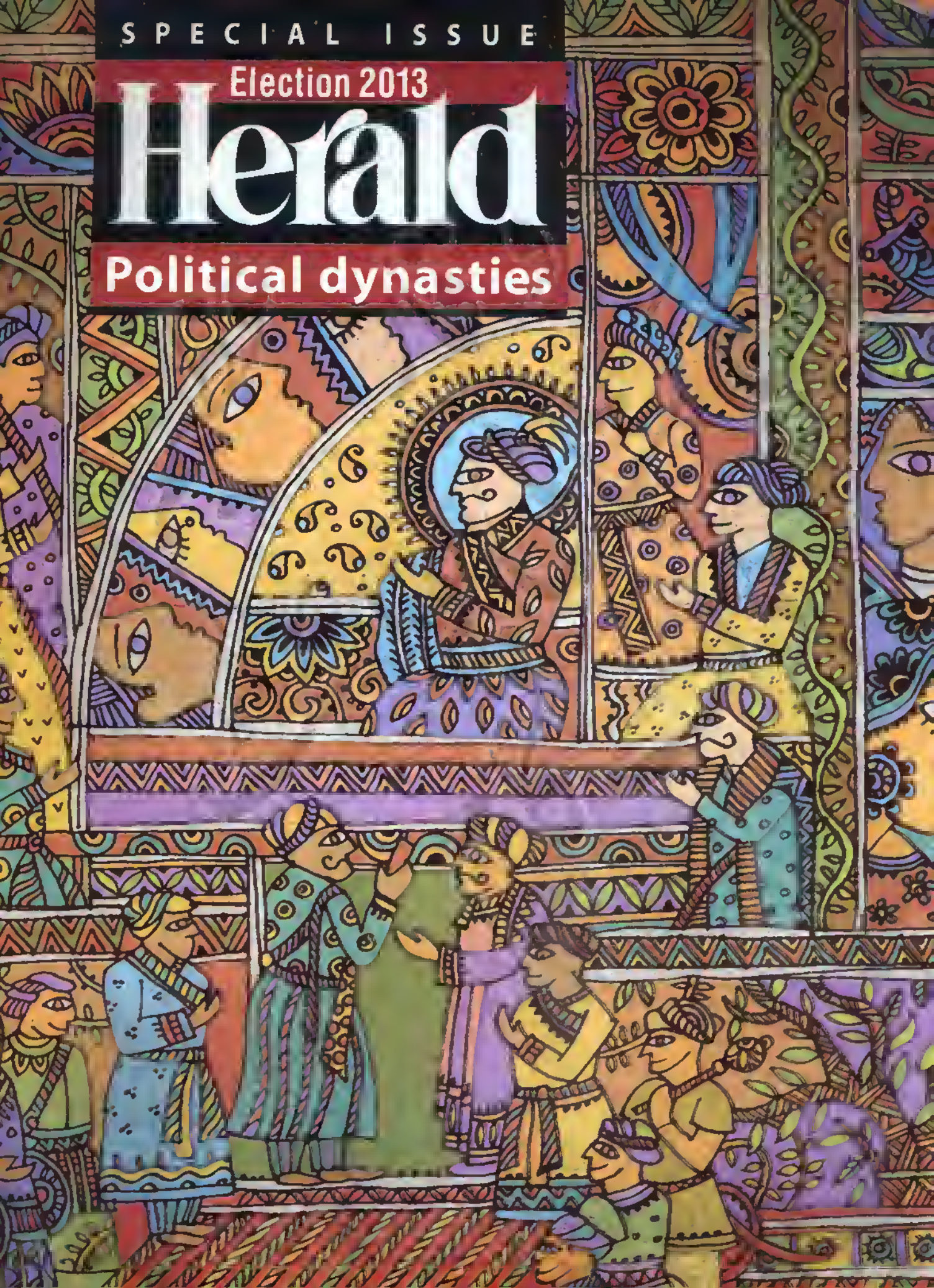


SPECIAL ISSUE

Election 2013

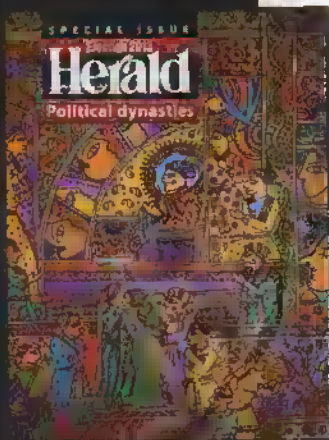
# Herald

Political dynasties





## CONTENTS



### 4 | EDITORIAL

### 5 | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

### 6 | BOARD GAME MANUAL

### 7 | A dynasty of my own *The many ways to create a political dynasty*

### 11 | The paradox of dynastic politics *Facts and myths about political dynasties in Punjab and their implications*

### 16 | The family connection *How social and economic development is linked to the nature and power of political dynasties*

### 28 | The cost of kin(g)ship *How legacy politics has prospered in Pakistan*

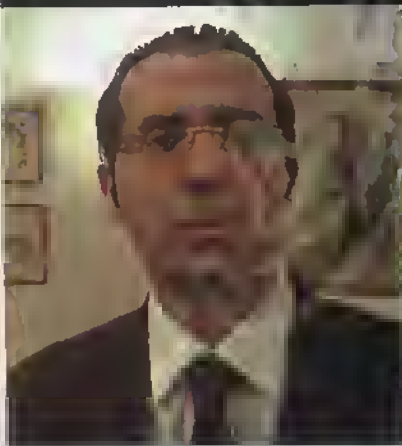
### 32 | SINDH DYNASTIES

### 63 | KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA DYNASTIES

### 51 | BALUCHISTAN DYNASTIES

### 76 | PUNJAB DYNASTIES

## CONTRIBUTORS



**Saroop Ijaz** is a partner at Ijaz and Ijaz, a law firm, and also a columnist. For this issue, he provides a guide to building a dynasty of one's own: "Most of us want to believe that we, as democracy-loving, conscientious citizens, do not like political dynasties; that is nonsense. We do not only like political dynasties, we secretly love them and want to be part of them." | 7



**All Cheema** works as the Research Fellow Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives and is Associate Professor of Economics at Lahore University of Management Sciences. He says, The Paradox of Dynastic Politics, which he co-wrote with Hassan Javid and Muhammad Farooq Naseer, aims to "provide key facts about dynasticism in Punjab as well as challenge some myths about it." | 11



**Dr Shahid Zahid** holds a PhD from Stanford University in applied economics. He has been a lecturer and professor at Karachi University at the Department of Economics. He has also published several books and academic articles on the economy of Pakistan. A consultant for the World Bank, Dr Zahid has been a regular contributor to the Herald, Dawn, and the Star. He recently retired from the Aslan Development Bank. For this issue, he explores the social and economic effects of political dynasties in Pakistan. | 16

## Fascination with people

**I**t is difficult to explain why human beings are always interested in the lives of other human beings. There, in fact, can be a number of reasons — from anthropological to social to psychological. According to an obvious one, people everywhere want to know about the lives of those who have some kind of celebrity status attached to them and this has been true for eons. The tales of kings, their scheming courtiers and rebellious princes, epics about warriors, legends of passionate men and the objects of their desires all fall into the same category. They primarily have resulted from the interest shown by ordinary mortals in the lives of less than ordinary characters.

What about democracy, which is both the cause and the effect of human equality? Why, in the age of one person one vote, should people exhibit the same level of interest in leaders of political parties, heads of government, ministers, governors and other public representatives as they did in times of inequality? Perhaps, everywhere in the world we are not as equal as we think we are, or at least desire to be. Certainly not in a highly hierarchical society like Pakistan.

That could well be one reason why every time an election comes around there is a flurry of activity in newspapers to put together information about people running in that election. From statistics about victories gone by and predictions about battles ahead and from too close to call races, to most watched contests, it is all about people involved. In a political system that prizes the personality of a leader, or an election candidate, more than the ideology or the programme they have, it is natural that everyone wants to know who is fighting against whom and who is winning against whom. Therein lies the value of a Musarrat Shaeen contesting an election against a Maulana Fazlur Rehman or a hari woman taking

on a feudal landlord. But attention attracted by such unequal contests could well be a manifestation of the vicarious pleasure onlookers derive from the embarrassment such encounters cause to one of two contestants. What about the electoral encounters between fathers and sons, or brothers, or cousins?

Since time immemorial, the bonding and breaking of familial ties among the rich and the mighty have fascinated all others. This is the stuff that myths and legends are made of. Even in the age of democracy, family links between the people in power remain a fascination with journalists and academics alike. It is this fascination that lies at the heart of this supplement on political dynasties. This, however, is not merely an effort in providing information on who's related to whom and who has how many sons, brothers, cousins and in-laws in the same house of the parliament. It is an effort to advance the democratic discourse to a level where we don't just question the presence of dynasties at the top of political parties but also within them as well as in electoral constituencies across Pakistan. A top heavy political system is the effect of a top heavy social structure and not the other way round — though there is evidence to suggest that the former perpetuates the latter to preserve its privileged position. This should serve as the basis for expanding the need for democratisation to every level of the society, not confining it only to political parties and elections. By listing 597 political dynasties which exist in Pakistan, the Herald expects this supplement to start a debate about why such a small number of people have been able to monopolise all power and influence in the country? Is there a way to move beyond such a politically crippling and socially debilitating monopoly? ■



# Acknowledgements

**T**his supplement couldn't have transformed from being an idea, about six months ago, to a 100-plus page publication without the faith shown by the Herald's editorial staff in its need and significance in the wake of Election 2013. The transformation needed the laborious task of creating a database of all 7,500 or so people who have been elected to different legislative houses between 1970 and 2008, and then painstakingly finding out their familial ties. It involved going through books, past Herald issues, digital archives of newspapers and innumerable online sources of information besides calling up reporters, personal contacts and even parliamentarians and their relatives.

Alizeh Kohari, a highly motivated and bright editorial assistant at the Herald, must be credited with showing the passion to undertake this massive assignment and then also having the commitment and ability to pull it off in a record time of six weeks. She was ably supported by Maham Javaid, Syed Abid Hussain and Faiza Shah, who together went through each entry in a massive excel sheet to fact-check as well as to find the cabinet and other official positions held by the members of each of the 597 political dynasties that Ms Kohari had found from across Pakistan.

In the last phase of the project, Sabina Qazi, Faiza Virani, Saba Fatima Mirza and Umer Farooq went through reams of written records to come up with the profiles of the most eminent political dynasties. In this, two young Herald interns, Rafay Ahmed and Sara Fariduddin, proved to be the researchers of first and last resort. That the Herald staff members did all this while, simultaneously, working on an unusually copious regular issue is definitely a testament to their hard work and incredible sense of duty and

purpose. I cannot thank them enough for making a collective Herald dream come alive.

I must also thank Moosa Kaleem, Ghulam Dastageer, Saleem Shahid (Dawn's correspondent in Quetta), Shakeel Ahmed (Dawn's correspondent in Multan), Shafiq Butt (Dawn's correspondent in Sahiwal), Faridullah Chaudhry (Dawn's correspondent in Layyah), a large number of district reporters, both from Dawn and other publications, dozens of personal contacts and scores of parliamentarians and their relatives who, very graciously, took the Herald's calls – many of them made at the unearthly hours of midnight and early morning – and helped in the verification processes. Without their wonderful cooperation this data would have had immense gaps. Thank you, all.

I also owe gratitude to the researchers and experts at the Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) who generously shared their immensely helpful data on Punjab-based political dynasties. Without their support, this supplement might not have seen the light of day before the May 11 polls.

I must also acknowledge the cooperation and artistic input by the Creative Unit in making this supplement look as beautiful as it does. Visualising the presentation of a data set comprising hundreds of names is certainly a massive challenge but Tanaz Minwala and Mannan Hatimali and their dedicated and highly motivated colleagues made it possible in a way that is not just aesthetically attractive but also interesting to read through. Thank you all for paying attention to the details and never shying away from putting in that extra effort that such a project demands. ■

— Editor

# Instructions for DYNASTY

Two or more players. Ages 10 and above

**Requirements:** Game board; one die; notepad and pen for keeping score; player tokens depending on number of players.

**Objective:** To amass the maximum number of points in order to build the Most Powerful Political Dynasty of All Time.

**Choosing a score keeper:** Any one player can be chosen to keep score, but it is not the score keeper's responsibility to keep track of additions and subtractions — the concerned player must remind him or her.

**Beginning play:** Roll the die and move forward the same number of paces as the number on the die. The box on which you land will determine whether your dynasty is growing or shrinking. Be sure to remind the score keeper each time there is an addition or reduction in your total score. Simply follow the path marked out on the board game; the player that amasses the most points by the time the game ends wins!

**Who goes first?** Any player who has a relative serving in parliament is entitled to the first roll of the die. Just kidding. Start with the youngest player, then continue in a clockwise direction.

**The by-election by-law:** If two players land on the same box, they become rival candidates in a by-election to be held right there and then. The non-candidate players will vote to determine the winner. In the event of a tie, roll the die; the candidate with the higher score wins.

**You won a by-election — now what?** The box on which you won the by-election henceforth belongs to you. Each time another player

lands on your box, he or she must pay you a tax worth 50 points (to be subtracted from his or her score, and added to yours).

**District Council:** Each time you *land* on the District Council box, you receive a bonus five points. No points for merely crossing!

**Provincial Assembly:** Each time you *land* on the Provincial Assembly box, you receive a bonus 10 points. Again, no points for merely crossing!

**National Assembly:** Each time you *cross* the National Assembly, 30 points will be added to your score.

**MILITARY COUP:** If you have the misfortune of landing on the Military Coup box, 30 points will be subtracted from your score, and your player token will be moved back to START.



**Bridges:** When you take a bridge (cross-cutting dotted line) forward or backwards, you gain or lose points as described in the box from where the bridge *began*, not as described by the box on which you land.

**GAME OVER:** If you land on the box that states 'Game Over', your political career is officially over. As far as the game is concerned, you're out of the running — sit back and watch the others fight it out. The game ends only when *everyone* is out of the running; at this point, the player with the highest total score wins.

**For more of a challenge:** Play DYNASTY within a time limit — let's say, within an hour. The player with the maximum number of points at the end of the time limit wins! ■



By Saroop Ijaz

## A dynasty of my own | The ways to create a political dynasty are many; here are just a few of them

**K**im il Sung, "The Great Leader", was the president of North Korea. He died in 1994 and in 1998 was made the "Eternal President of the Republic." His son, "The Dear Leader", Kim Jong il, was only the Chairman of the Defense Commission. After Kim Jong il's long awaited and much appreciated death, his son and third generation ruler Kim Jong Un has taken over, still the deceased grandfather remains the President. No wonder, North Korea's system of government sometimes has been termed as "necrocracy" (rule by the dead, in the most literal sense). The point of this North Korean trivia is that whatever your opinion about political and ruling dynasties in Pakistan is, it can be worse.

### You know you want it

We do not like political dynasties in Pakistan. They deprive the common men and women of the chance of ruling themselves etc. This is all perfect nonsense, of course. In reality, we do not like political dynasties in the same way as awkward high school students despise girls who are way out of their league, and with whom they have no chance of success. We do not like political dynasties which do not have "us" in "them", which most political dynasties are for most of us. We are really secretly envious of people who are part of them. It is exactly like how most people hate exclusive country clubs, till the time they really get in. Once "in", the haters are most likely to be the people who will most passionately fight for the right to conduct the weekly tombola, remember the rulebook by heart and sleep overnight at the Club. Let us be honest here, deep down we love the idea of political dynasties.

All business is family business in Pakistan. Our concept of family is "La Cosa Nostra", a bit like that of the mafia. We stand by our family in all circumstances generally; the desire for solidarity, however, significantly increases if the family is doing well. The motto is "My family, right or wrong", or sometimes in the particular case of political dynasties, "My family, right or left".

Political dynasties are also our knock-off substitutes for the real thing which, in this case, is a full-bodied monarchy with all the glitz that comes with it, and we like it even better if the monarch is foreign. Just one look at the school history books would reveal our boundless love for the heroic saviours and invaders, starting from Alexander the Great defeating that native Raja Poros on the banks of the Jhelum river to Muhammad bin Qasim inflicting crushing defeat on the infidel local Dahir, to the glorious rule of the Moguls. Even Jinnah preferred the regal (perhaps, more accurately vice-regal) title of "Governor General" to the standard prime minister. In a small way, I am a witness to this desire as someone whose daily efforts to earn subsistence involve wearing batman-style gowns, bowing, using incredibly dusty Latin phrases and addressing people also wearing batman-style gowns as "My Lord" and "if it pleases your Lordship".

Dynastic politics is the only constant which cuts across the ideological spectrum and party affiliations (barring very, very few exceptions). From the religious right to the liberal left to the secular nationalist.

Tom Wolfe once wrote that an indication of the American Ideal was the question that people in the new country would ask, when visiting someone, of their host's children: "What do you want to be when you grow up?" The question was unique as it implied that children had many choices available in becoming whatever they wanted to be. We ask that question of children in Pakistan. We, however, do not believe in a Tom Wolfish pseudo-profound explanation. We probably ask it because the Americans used to ask it at some point. Perhaps, we also ask it so as to know if the children are aware of their station in life and do not want to be something which they should not be, and if so to catch them early and make amends, manage expectations etc.

Tom Paine thought a hereditary ruler is as rational (or irrational) as a hereditary doctor and



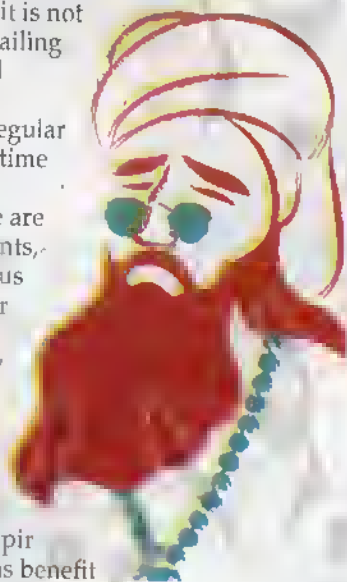
illustrations by Sana Nasir

lawyer. He would have been fascinated, as well as in some way vindicated, looking at the lists of our top lawyers and doctors and the professions of their fathers. We don't just love political dynasties, we love all dynasties.

### On good (spiritual) authority

There are many ways of establishing political dynasties. There is the obvious one of creating a myth of mass magical charisma, which is not easy to do so, but once done can go a long way. Yet, it is not always all smooth sailing after that. The small problem of family members killed at regular intervals does sometime arise and that is not pleasant. Then there are ideologies, movements, jails and other tedious stuff. Fortunately for the budding dynast, there are less bloody methods. The surest and safest bet is to be born into a pir family, or the next best thing is to become a pir yourself. The obvious benefit of being a pir or starting a pir dynasty is that it is evergreen. Your appeal to authority is a hybrid of metaphysics, past missionary zeal and distant kinship with people who have long left for greener pastures. To be a pir has a dual advantage: It feeds our desire for royalty of sorts while at the same time also providing us with a religious and spiritual experience in being obedient to the royal. An analogy that I can think of is the Arabic news bulletin on PTV. As a child I dutifully watched the bulletin. I did it even though I did not understand a word of Arabic. I assumed the exercise was meant to fill in the two angels on my shoulders on the major happenings of the day. At the same time, it meant accumulation of *sawab* for me. Now as an adult, I know all of that to be true. Marx believed "religion to be the opiate of the masses," the shrines and seats of the pirs in Pakistan testify to that. Although there are brief shining moments at these shrines where one can almost be forgiven for believing that here "opiate is the opiate of the masses".

Remaining on Marx, he also once, apparently in a lighter vein, made an obvious point: "One man is King only because other men stand in the relation of subjects to him. They, on the other hand, imagine that they are subjects because he is King." The point



still has merit. For other men to take you for a king, you have to come across as one. In self-help books sold on airport bookshops on the topic of navigating and achieving success in the cut-throat corporate world, there is often sagacious advice as "dress for the job that you want, and not the one you have" etc. So you, as a future dynast, have to embrace the persona of a spiritual leader. It might seem slightly odd in the beginning but a little practice and perseverance should see you through. It includes referring to yourself in the third person and with your full name; the use of first person plural is important for doing justice to your now larger than life character; always quote yourself, quoting yourself from the past. In fact, after the initial period you really never need to have a new conversation in life again.

### To serve and to protect (yourself)

This religious, spiritual leadership is not my thing, you say. All is not lost, although a very effective option certainly is. Yet, do not despair. Joining the armed forces is not too unhelpful either. In addition to the very real chance of you becoming the president of the country, you also have the opportunity of creating a legacy and dynasty. Gohar Ayub and his son, Ijazul Haq and Humayun Akhtar Khan are a few notable success stories in this category.

If your career in the military really takes off, you can even change the entire dynasty business. Exhibit A is Field Marshal Ayub Khan. He introduced a legislation known as FBDO (Electoral Bodies Disqualification Ordinance) with the clear purpose of purging the dynastic politicians. And so he did, with Mumtaz Daultana and Malikdoomzada Hasan Mahmood etc having to retire from politics.

Yet, the gallant Field Marshal was aware of the dangers of anarchy — a society without hierarchy, a society without dynasties. Hence, he created a set of his own, his family being amongst the first. And with a wonderful economic policy pleasantly named as "functional inequality," the "22 richest families" were created. How wonderfully non-dynastic?

### They lied; money can buy you love

The Duke of Wellington once apparently said, "The battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of





The point of all this is again a cliché: Money matters. There are senate seats up for sale, advisor-ships on auction, reserved and even general seats available to the highest bidder. If you can spread the buying over two or more generations, congratulations, you have bought yourself a dynasty. Once you have a dynasty, you will progressively need to spend less money, since you have a natural right to the corridors of power and spend the public money to perpetuate your dynasty. Pretty slick, is it not.

Eton." If you do not know what Eton is, you as a potential gentleman (I use the word gentleman with awareness; ladies have a slightly harder time starting dynasties over here) dynast have your work cut out. In any event sufficient amount of money would get you to the playing fields of Eton, and you can win or at least begin your Waterloo. If that sounds much, you can always go for the local version of Eton.

This reminds me of a recent conversation I had with an acquaintance of mine belonging to the bluest of the blue blooded dynasties in Pakistan. He insisted on getting something done which prima facie did not seem possible or at the very least legal. Remaining true to my nature, I eventually resorted to cliché — in this case, "money can't buy you everything." The gentleman dynast's response has left a deep impression on me. He observed with great sagacity and prescience, "Look, what money can't buy, big money can." He did make it a point, of letting me know of the successful result of his efforts a few days later, his objective probably was to make me feel inept. He sort of succeeded.

The point of all this is again a cliché: Money matters. There are senate seats up for sale, advisor-ships on auction, reserved and even general seats available to the highest bidder. If you can spread the buying over two or more generations, congratulations, you have bought yourself a dynasty. Once you have a dynasty, you will progressively need to spend less money, since you have a natural right to the corridors of power and spend the public money to perpetuate your dynasty. Pretty slick, is it not.

Mian Sharif was a businessman who had made his own fortune with hard toil. Yet Mian Sharif was also a visionary. He went to General Ghulam Jilani, made him an offer he could not refuse and had his firstborn son inducted into the provincial cabinet. The rest, as the cliché goes, is history. The sons of the dynast may or may not immediately take to the role of born aristocrats; however the grandsons would be dashing young leaders who have been rich and powerful forever, the scion of the old guard, pedigreed back to Adam.

The entrepreneurial protégé, generally the firstborn male child, is not particularly rare in

Pakistan. And not restricted to the politicians only. There is blazing young talent coming up the flanks in all fields — law, journalism, industry etc — mostly on the flank of their fathers, yet blazing nonetheless.

### **Be your own man; and ours too**

Every campaign season in the US and sometimes in the UK, there is a silly display of being self-made — rags to riches, overcoming adversity stories. Everyone pretends to be born in wooden cabins which they themselves built, hunted their school lunch etc. In most cases, a show is being put up; the rich and successful people are slightly embarrassed at their affluence and, out of courtesy, are communicating to the plebs that they did it themselves, and maybe the plebs can do it too. We, in Pakistan, have it exactly the opposite. Anyone who is mildly successful insists that given their family background the success had to follow naturally, often, creating stories of imagined riches. People are offended if congratulated on making it on their own.

Jamshed Dasti has achieved political success on his own. And we do not like him for that. He is uncouth, thuggish and, in short, too common to rule us. He does not fit the picture of the person who is fit to govern us. He is, perhaps, not one of "us" and, worse, he is certainly not one of "them". That does put us in a bit of a quandary, doesn't it?





That does put us in a bit of a quandary, doesn't it? We do not like the dynastic politicians and we do not like the non-dynastic commoner much either. Maybe, we just do not like politicians. Or maybe we desire for a blend. We like the aristocrat with the common touch (and certainly not the commoner with aristocratic pretensions), only one half of Rudyard Kipling's desire in "If". The shirt sleeves rolled up, yet the shirt should be Turnbull & Asser, a dangling watch worn loosely and carelessly, yet preferably a Rolex.

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William Thackeray believed that it took at least three generations to be a "gentleman". Thackeray is proven wrong in Pakistan, amongst others by Javed Hashmi who was a very successful, outspoken student leader solidly from the middle class, rising up the ranks to become a national level politician. Somewhere along the line,

however, Hashmi realised that a name without a grand sounding prefix did not do justice to his political stature: He became a "Makhdoom". It could also be because his constituency politics was against "Makhdooms" and he had to do it to keep up. Whichever explanation is true, here you have it. The moment of transformation, a rite of passage, the opening shots of a new dynasty fired.

Former student leaders are not known as patriarchs of great family dynasties. The Makhdooms, on the other hand, are one of the most skilled exponents of this particular craft. Makhdoom Hashmi was always a brave and upright politician; he only really became a "gentleman" as required by us the day he decided to become a "Makhdoom".

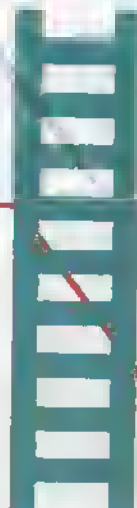
### Tryst with dynasty

In the Pakistani (male) version of Cinderella story, men with not so illustrious family backgrounds have scaled extraordinary heights of power and riches with just one life-transforming decision: Marrying into the right dynasty. Consider Asif Ali Zardari, the son of a Sindhi landlord-cum-businessman with only moderate success in politics. In 1987, he married Benazir Bhutto and now he owns the Bhutto dynasty's fortunes — financial as well as political. Or better still, think of one Muhammad Safdar. Born with humble origin, he was a captain in the army when the lady luck smiled on him, rather literally. While serving as the aide-de-camp of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in 1990s, Safdar married the only daughter of the then Pakistan's first family, or dynasty if you like. Since then, he has been a member of National Assembly, representing the party that represents the dynasty, no longer having to toil through the military ranks.

This is not meant to be an exhaustive list; the above-mentioned are just few of the ways that you can create a dynasty. Most of you will do it in your own unique way. Yet there are certain common threads. First thing is to approach the project of creating your own dynasty as part show business, part superstition. Another ingredient is to release strong whiffs of narcissism, megalomania and calculated self-righteousness.

If one is to be philosophic about this, we are already part of one dynasty or the other; we just have to find it. Remember the wise words of antiquity; anything worth fighting for is worth fighting dirty for. Now stop sitting at your backside and go, okay! Whatever you do, don't be yourself; just create that dynasty you always wanted to be part of. ■

NIKANAMAH



# The paradox of dynastic politics

## Facts and myths about political dynasties in Punjab and their implications

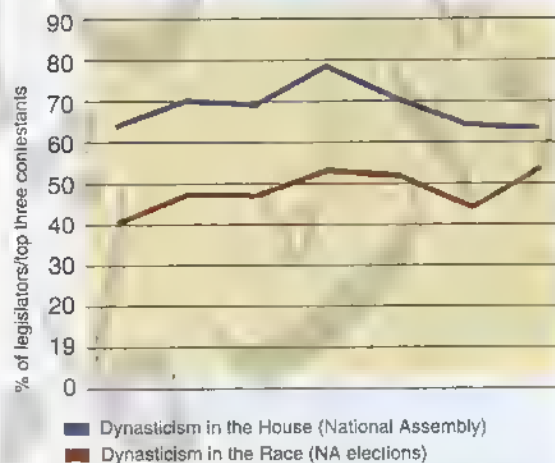
A fundamental paradox of Punjab's politics is the coexistence of competitive electoral contests with a deeply held belief among the electorate that the political system is extremely uncompetitive. The highly competitive nature of Punjab's elections can be seen from the fact that a five percentage point swing in votes against incumbent parties in the coming election, keeping all else equal, can topple as many as 30 per cent of the outgoing members of the National Assembly in the province. A resolution of this paradox is provided by the claim that the political class in Punjab is heavily dominated by dynasties, held together by ties of blood and marriage, which impede the participation of non-dynastic aspirants to public office. Proponents of this view argue that while Punjab's politics *appear* competitive as members of dynastic factions aggressively compete against each other using different party platforms, it is simultaneously uncompetitive because the dynasties, and the pursuit of their interests, trump other concerns in political parties, public policy and development-related matters.

To what extent does the evidence support this view? We address this and other questions related to dynastic politics in Punjab using a unique and original database of familial linkages among the top three contestants in national and provincial assembly races in all elections between 1970 and 2008. By the term 'dynastic politicians', we refer to those electoral candidates who have had multiple family members contesting national or provincial elections in Punjab between 1970 and 2008. Our aim here is to provide key facts about dynasticism in Punjab as well as to challenge some myths about it.

What are the key facts about dynastic politics in Punjab? The first fact is that over the past three decades, dynastic politicians belonging to approximately 400 families have been instrumental in shaping policies, programmes and legislation that have impacted the lives of 176 million Pakistani citizens. On average, approximately two-

thirds of the elected legislators and around half of the top three contestants in the National Assembly elections in Punjab, between 1985 and 2008, were dynastic (Figure 1). A related fact is that dynasticism has remained remarkably stable over this period, which testifies to the incredible resilience of this enterprise.

Figure 1  
Dynasticism in the National Assembly  
Punjab seats only



Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

Figure 2

Country	Legislature and period	Percentage of dynastic legislators in the House
Pakistan	Members of National Assembly from Punjab in 2008	53.4
India	Members of the Lok Sabha in 2010	28.6
United States	Legislators in Congress in 1860-65	10
United States	Legislators in Congress in 1966-96	6.2

Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)



The fact that politics in Punjab is heavily dynastic is brought into sharp relief when we compare the incidence of dynastic politics in Punjab to India and to the historic levels found in the US (Table 1). The incidence of dynastic politics among Punjab's elected representatives is nearly double the incidence found in India and five times the incidence found in the US during the Civil War period. Pakistan; Patrick French (2011) for India; and Dal Bo et. al. (2007) for the US. All three studies use the same definition of dynastic politicians which excludes the first political entrant in each family from 'dynastic politicians'.

It is also a fact that dynastic organisations in Punjab are held together by ties of blood and marriage (Figure 2). The organisational form of politics that has emerged in Punjab is a hybrid with political party apparatuses being built on an edifice of dynastic families and their networks rather than political party machines organised around ideology, ethnicity, class and/or programmatic platforms. While analysts typically focus on the dynastic nature of the high command of political parties, these results suggest that dynasticism is deeply rooted in constituency politics.

Dynastic families enjoy tremendous power in the political system because of the fact that being "dynastic" substantially increases the chances of winning an electoral contest. We find that two out of the three electoral races in Punjab, since 1985, that have involved a contest between a dynastic candidate and non-

dynastic contenders, were won by the dynastic contender. These races accounted for approximately 50 per cent of all races fought during 1985-2008. We also find that in another one-third of the electoral races, the real competition was between members of dynastic families and there was no effective competition from non-dynastic contenders.

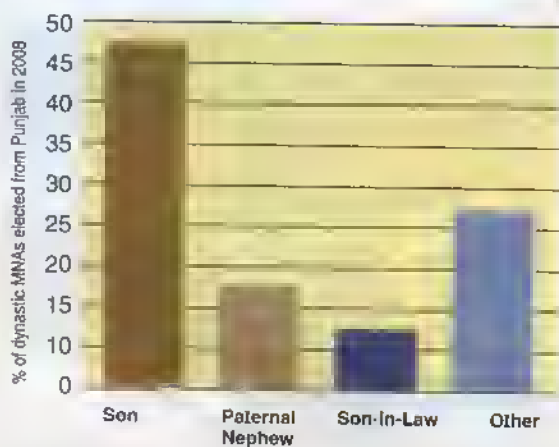
Moreover, it is also a fact that dynastic families in Punjab have been successful in making the generational transition, which suggests that they are not only resilient but also relatively stable enterprises that owe their success to more than just the personal ability of their first generation politicians. This is best exemplified by the fact that over 50 per cent of Punjab's dynasties were able to introduce new family members into the electoral politics to cope with the bachelors' degree requirement that was imposed in the 2002 election and approximately 35 per cent of the families achieved success with the fresh contender.

It is, therefore, no surprise that that conventional wisdom among political parties has been to win over the 'electables'; which is synonymous with winning over members of these dynastic families. Therefore, parties have, in the past, chosen to forge alliances with dynastic politicians rather than build effective party machinery around a dedicated party cadre. The absence of effective cadre-based structure significantly increases the likelihood that dynastic politicians will win races and this expectation perpetuates their power in the system. This vicious cycle feeds both the success of dynasties and the weak organisational structure of political parties. Given the importance of dynastic organisations, it is no surprise that bargaining between these organisations and political party leadership is incessant, and the frequent switching of political parties by members of these families, or the sprouting of various 'like-minded' factions, has become the norm in politics.

The presence of this structure has a number of important implications for politics in Punjab, which we will discuss after challenging some conventional myths about dynastic politics in the province. The first myth is that the composition of families that constitute the dynastic pool is stagnant. This is not true. There was a substantial infusion of new entrants into the dynastic pool after the elections of 1985 and 1988 (Figure 3). What is true is that a large share of these individual non-dynastic entrants into politics thrived and formed successful dynastic families in their own right. This suggests that

Figure 3

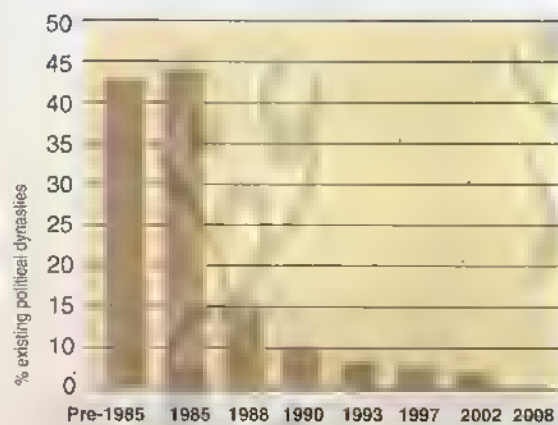
#### Relations with the dynastic predecessor in Punjab



Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

Figure 4

### Dynastic entry into Punjab politics



Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

the emergence of a new pool of politicians may not imply a weakening of the dynastic system of politics and, instead, may only result in the replacement of one set of dynastic families by another.

Note: The above figure reports political dynasties whose first member (the dynast) entered politics in a given election year as a percentage of the total political dynasties in Punjab. Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

The second myth is that dynasticism is integrally tied to feudal or landed power. This is a gross oversimplification of the changes that have taken place in Punjab. While we do find that the number of dynastic contenders among the top three candidates in electoral races is higher in the more landed and unequal southern and western regions of Punjab (Map 1), the presence of significant dynasticism is also found in the less landed and more equal central-eastern districts of the province. In fact, there is considerable evidence to suggest that, since the election of 1985, business-owning, trading and professional elites have been as successful as their landowning counterparts, if not more, in forming dynastic families and that the power of capital appears to be as potent as the power of land.

The third myth is that the episodes of military rule lead to a decline in the political power of dynastic families. We find that the opposite is true and that military rule actually appears to perpetuate dynastic politics. While a third of Punjab's current crop of dynastic

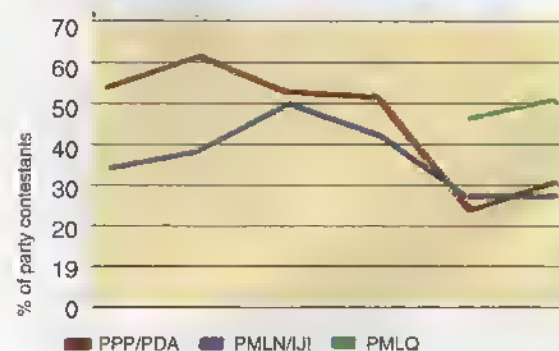
political families entered the political arena prior to the imposition of martial law by General Ziaul Haq, more than a third began their careers with Zia's non-party elections of 1985. We have already shown that the measures ostensibly taken by Gen (retd) Pervez Musharraf to reduce the power of entrenched politicians in 2002, such as the bachelors degree requirement, did little more than induce the entry of the next generation of these dynasties into politics, whereby sons and nephews stepped in to fill the voids left by the ineligibility of their fathers and uncles. These measures were completely unsuccessful in making even a small dent in dynastic politics.

In fact, Musharraf was able to get a significant number of dynastic politicians to defect and form Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PMLQ) in 2002, providing this new party with a solid base of 'electable' candidates that could be relied upon to deliver victories in their constituencies. We find that the proportion of dynastic contenders in PMLQ, which average around 50 per cent in 2002 and 2008, was more than 20 percentage points higher than the incidence of dynasticism found in Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN) during these years (Figure 4).

The final, and perhaps the most persistent, myth is that the dynastic families have an absolute dominance in Punjabi politics. This is again a gross oversimplification with the actual picture being a lot more complicated. The urban areas of Punjab have begun to witness a weakening of dynastic politics. In comparison with their rural counterparts, urban dynastic politicians are 40 points less likely to win in the constituencies where they stand for election

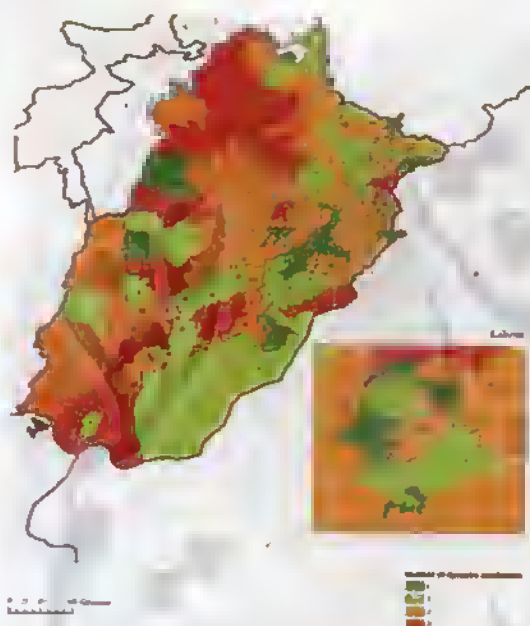
Figure 5

### Dynasticism in PPP, PMLN and PMLQ



Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

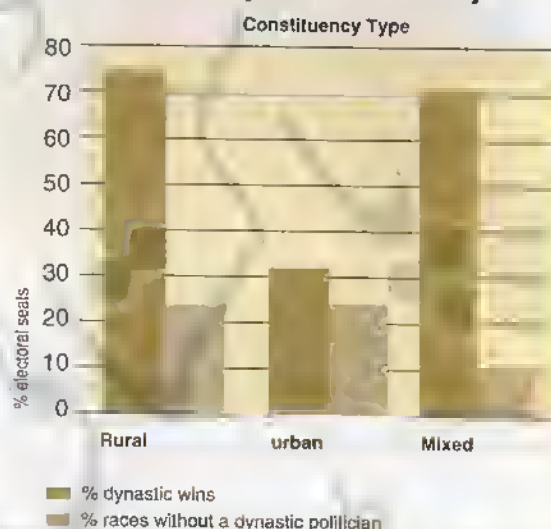




Note: The map shows the number of dynastic candidates among the top three contenders in Punjab's National Assembly constituencies in 2008

Figure 6

### Urban versus rural dynasticism in Punjab



Source: Cheema and Naseer (2013)

**What are the key facts about dynastic politics in Punjab? The first fact is that over the past three decades, dynastic politicians belonging to approximately 400 families have been instrumental in shaping policies, programmes and legislation that have impacted the lives of 176 million Pakistani citizens.**

(Figure 5). Furthermore, the number of races without any dynastic contender is almost 10 percentage points higher in urban areas as compared to the rural areas.

There are a number of potential reasons why this may be the case. Punjab's cities differ from villages in several important respects that have a bearing on electoral contests. The ties of kinship and economic dependence that often characterise rural social relations are weaker in cities, thus decreasing some of electoral advantage that underpins the electability of rural dynastic candidates. The physical space of cities, consisting of high population density levels, as well as the presence of a relatively

mobile and fluid population of inhabitants, is less conducive to the mobilisation of vote blocs similar to those that characterise local-level village politics. Cities are also more plural spaces than villages, with a diverse range of organisations and interest groups facilitating a freer exchange of information and ideas that can make it harder for dynastic politicians to rely upon their traditional sources of power when campaigning for votes. Given the changing demographics of Punjab, with the province becoming increasingly urban, we may see a decline in dynasticism over time and the emergence of political party machines.

### Implications for the future

Is accommodating members of dynastic families in the distribution of party tickets the most effective election strategy available to the leadership of the main political parties in Punjab? Or is it time to begin the process of rewarding party cadres and non-dynastic members of party machines, no matter how incipient? These are questions that the leadership of the main political parties has struggled with during the recent process of distributing party tickets. These questions have no simple answer which is, perhaps, why many parties appear at a crossroads on these questions.

On the one hand, there is ample reason for parties to be reluctant about moving away from their traditional reliance on dynastic politicians, as doing so would require the presence of a party-based vote that may be difficult to mobilise given the weakness of existing party organisations. The vicious cycle that reproduces dynastic power also makes it difficult to break free of it. Lowering the barriers to entry for non-dynastic political aspirants would also increase the costs of organisation for Punjab's political parties, forcing them to invest in building party machines that may or may not be able to deliver votes as effectively as the dynastic candidates. These factors provide strong reasons for the continued reliance on dynastic politicians.

On the other hand, the investment in building organised, non-dynastic and non-familial political party structures could deliver much higher electoral returns, if not in the present, then certainly in the future. Looking ahead, it is possible to identify a few sources of change that could potentially lead to a decline in dynastic politics in Punjab and give rise to the need to build organised party machines.

The first of these has to do with the rising urbanisation in the province. We have already discussed that this trend is weakening dynastic politics. The adverse impact of urbanisation on dynastic politics will be catalysed by the next constituency delimitation exercise, which will come into force after the next population census. The next delimitation will have two effects both of which will weaken dynastic politics. It will reduce the imbalance in rural and urban seats, which will open up more spaces for non-dynastic urban contenders. It will also increase the total number of seats in the national and provincial legislatures, which will have an independent effect on dynastic politics by mechanically increasing the number of slots that need to be filled by political parties especially if the number of 'natural' new candidates available within the existing dynasties is limited.

The opening up of political space through local government elections, if it happens, is also expected to weaken dynastic politicians. There is some evidence to suggest that increased levels of electoral competition, triggered by the greater availability of seats at the local level, can act as an entry point for non-dynastic politicians. This is particularly true at the local level, where the sheer number of positions and posts that could potentially be made available would inevitably lead political parties to induct candidates lacking

the electoral advantage conferred by dynasticism. While this could serve as a breeding ground for 'new' dynasties, it could also facilitate the development of more effective party machines that could serve as a platform upon which to initiate a more policy-based mode of politics.

Finally, parties have begun to realise that accommodating dynastic politicians comes at a price. While these candidates are more electable than their counterparts, parties have to bear the cost of their participation in terms of having to compromise upon their political and policy agendas. Given that dynastic politicians use their position to entrench their own economic and social position, essentially extracting rents from parties in exchange for their support, parties may be starting to see the wisdom of fielding non-dynastic candidates campaigning on more programmatic platforms. The impetus for this change may come from increased competition in an urbanising electorate, and also through the induction of non-dynastic candidates at the margins of the current electoral system. In addition, the large increase in first-time voters between the ages of 18 and 22 is a 'wildcard' that has the potential to adversely affect dynastic politics in the upcoming elections. This is because these voters are weakly integrated into dynastic political networks and may be more open to voting along party rather than factional lines.

In the upcoming election, the performance of dynasts in electoral contests that involve a contest between them and de novo non-dynasts will be critical in determining the future of dynastic politics in Punjab. The most important barometer in this regard will be the performance of candidates from the different factions of PMLQ and the de novo candidates of Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf. ■

*Note: The database used for this article, referred to here as Cheema and Naseer (2013), was created with financial support from the Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS) as part of an ongoing research study. The database was put together by reviewing extensive primary documentation including newspaper archives and public profiles of the legislators as well as other secondary sources; its entries were subsequently verified by the district correspondents of the Dawn Media Group. The database was put together with the able support of Hamid Haq, Omar Qasim, Umair Javaid, Anum Malkani and Hassan Murtza Khan.*



By Dr Shahid Zahid

# The family connection

**How social and economic development is linked to the nature and power of political dynasties**

Ask an ordinary adult Pakistani, young or old, which politician they favour or would vote for and mostly you will get an answer that makes you wonder why no politician gets wholehearted affirmation. It leaves little doubt that politicians are a much maligned lot in Pakistan. As one looks back at the nearly seven decades of Pakistan's existence, the one thing that springs to mind is the lack of generally revered politicians in this brief history. Yes, there are prominent names that are remembered, and many of these hold enormous sway over the hearts and minds of millions, but there are none — other than, perhaps, the founder of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah and, possibly, Liaquat Ali Khan — who do not have as many detractors as followers.

Politics and politicians in Pakistan have had, to put it mildly, a chequered and not very reputable history. Electoral politics have fared even worse. There were no elections, or barely any to speak of, during the first 25 years except for a very short-lived interlude after the promulgation of the 1956 Constitution — an assembly was elected and then aborted before it could even begin to take root, within just over a year. There followed years of military rule and thus started a peculiar fascination with dictatorial military politics that, to this day, is considered by many to be a viable alternative to so-called 'civilian' rule — as if the two were, in fact, alternatives and as if the military had some sort of obligation, nay a duty, to rule the country. To further confuse the issue, the military has itself dabbled in elections in various guises.

There was the Basic Democracy of the Ayub Khan era and the sham 1964 election. Since then, every subsequent military ruler has played with electoral politics in one form or another. The Majlis-e-Shoora of General Ziaul Haq and both his and General (retd) Pervez Musharraf's referendums come to mind. The only exception to these almost laughable attempts at 'democracy' were the landmark 'free and fair' elections of 1970 under Yahya Khan. We all know what the outcome of being free and fair was: an electoral voice emerged, so loud and clear that it caused complete panic

among the ruling elite (both the military and non-military elite of the country's western wing), and ended up in the break-up of the country.

To add to the confusion, most politicians have willingly supported and connived with military rulers to derail democracy, the constitution and, at most times, the rule of law (except, of course, martial law). Alongside them, hand in glove, has been the judiciary, supporting every military dictator that ruled without an electoral mandate. Exceptions have been so rare that they can only be considered outliers. It is little wonder, then, that politics and politicians have a bad reputation, with the level of trust that politicians should have among the electorate being very low.

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One feature that best defines politics in Pakistan is what may be referred to as dynastic politics. Whether it is the country's feudal history or just a natural tendency to promote or trust one's family that has led to this, dynastic politics has been the norm rather than the exception. As we go into another round of elections to determine the future and nature of the country's democracy, it would be worthwhile to look at what this brand of politics constitutes, how — if at all — it has changed over the years and whether it has any links or not with socio-economic progress.

What are we referring to when we talk of dynastic politics? Primarily, of course, to the political families. Many names come to mind — the Bhuttos, the Sharifs, the Abbasis, the Saifullahs, the Zehris, to name just a few. But there are many others. While some of them have their roots in a rural-feudal setting (such as the Bhuttos), others are purely urban-based (the Sharifs). Still others are tribal (the Zehris). So the range of dynastic families transcends purely feudal familial ties. Tribal affiliations are quite easy to comprehend, but what about urban-based dynasties?

If there are purely urban-based political dynasties, has urbanisation not had as differential an impact on the political landscape as one might expect? Or has the feudal or tribal mindset permeated urban politics? If that is the case, what will it take to

emerge from this retrogressive trend? Will politics become independent of personalities and move towards being differentiated along the lines of policy and ideology? A brief look at the history of dynastic politics will provide some answers. It also needs to be investigated if dynastic politics has been the hallmark of both electoral and non-electoral politics thereby ensuring that a limited number of closely linked players monopolise the political landscape — no matter what the ruling dispensation. Has survival at any cost been the hallmark and defining feature of dynastic politics?

Furthermore, has the emergence of religion-based and sectarian parties had any impact on dynastic politics? Or are these kinds of parties subject to the same kind of mindset that seems to pervade all politics? And finally, and perhaps most importantly, there is the question of whether dynastic politics has impacted socio-economic progress in the country in general, and areas where this brand of politics dominates in particular.

### **What is dynastic politics?**

Dynastic politics is not as simple as it sounds. First, there are prominent political families. These are connected by familial ties but even within political families there are separate factions, depending on whether the family ties are close or based on an extended family. Many families have been in politics for several years, with the involvement of some even dating back to colonial times, while others have more recently come to the fore. Many of those who have been politically involved for a longer time have their roots in the country's feudal system. Feudalism is essentially based on a mixture of paternalism, hereditary rights and patronage. It is a system that is tailor-made for dynastic politics. The feudal lord treats the members of his estate much as the head of a household would treat his children and family, but with a crucial difference. Outside of the actual family, all other members of the estate are essentially serfs (albeit within a well-established hierarchy) who owe their existence to the feudal lord and by extension to his family. The hereditary rights of the feudal family are of paramount importance, since they form the basis of where its power resides — from father to son (or daughter, as the case may be) and so on. The relationship between lord and serf is not a master-slave relationship, but one based on broader concepts of patronage; it is more akin to a patron-client relationship but with clear

limits to how far this relationship can go.

Within such a system, the feudal family is paramount. When the family engages in politics, there is no question that it dominates the political sphere much as a dynasty would within its realm. There is practically a captive electorate. When votes are necessary, these will almost certainly be cast en bloc in favour of the feudal family with very few exceptions. The result of such power within an electoral system — especially when the feudal system remains intact — will, without exception, result in dynastic politics.

While it may resemble tribal-based dynastic politics, this brand of feudal-based dynastic politics is very different from the former, in terms of the history and dynamics of the system. Tribal dynasties have ruled unhindered over their tribes for many years, in some cases even before colonial times; whereas many, if not most, feudal families owe their very existence to the colonial masters who distributed large tracts of land and free dominion over these lands to a select few in return for favours. A tribal leader is to the tribe what master is to a religious order: unquestioned and inviolable, with the tribal population being more akin to slaves than serfs. The prevailing law within the tribe is not always the law of the land, but the law as determined by the tribal leader or elders. In most cases, where the two sets of laws have differed, the government has not intervened, using the pretext that the tribe's 'laws' (unwritten and whimsical though these might be) are social and cultural norms and therefore cannot be tampered with. The law of the land is set aside in such instances.

Feudal and tribal families are not the only kind of families that have dominated dynastic politics. Despite the rapid rise of urbanisation and with the consequent growth of urban-based politics, political dynasties have emerged that have no rural, feudal or tribal links, and can only be defined as urban bourgeois or entrepreneurial families. The rise of such dynasties is a relatively recent phenomenon. In addition, there are families who have gained political prominence due to the wealth they have acquired through business but who are not necessarily urban-based. To further complicate matters, there are also a number of families which dominate not only the supposedly secular parties but also the purely non-secular ones.

The power of these families is derived from various sources that are varied and wide-



ranging. In many cases, such power is multi-sourced. There are tribal families whose power is derived solely from the tribe and, similarly, there are feudal families whose power is derived from their landholdings. But over time both of these kinds of families have also branched out into other areas of influence. Some have moved into business activities, some have made politics their mainstay and some have even joined the military to gain influence. Many have become urban-based but still continue to derive their power from their ancestral base, whether tribal or feudal.

There are families which are purely into business or industry, while others are using their political party as their main source of power (see the Sharifs of Lahore, the Chaudhrys of Gujrat, the Arains of Lahore, the Cheemas of Sargodha, etc, in the dynasty lists, on page 32). Many of these are purely urban-based. Then there are families whose power is derived from their religious influence, and who belong to different religious parties (see, for example, the Qazis of Nowshera, Maulanas of Dera Ismail Khan and Munawwar Hasan's family in the dynasty lists).

With such varying sources of influence and power, what – if any – is the common feature that dominates dynastic politics? The defining feature is the system of patronage that has been encouraged by the ruling elite. This, coupled with the notion that hereditary rights are a valid substitute for experience and relevance. Patronage is used to give the impression that it is due to personal favours dispensed by the family (and, more generally, by the ruling elite) that the electorate is being provided anything at all and that this is the best way – perhaps even the only way – for people to gain anything. This also helps ensure that the electorate continues to recognise who it is beholden to for whatever comes its way. Moreover, who better to continue the patronage from one era to another than another family member? Someone who not only has the power but has also gained the necessary experience simply by association and no association is closer than familial ties. For so long has this system prevailed that in most cases this claim to power is regarded as a right, without any question being raised regarding its validity.

### **The dynasties**

The influence of dynastic politics on the electoral system is pervasive. According to the data compiled by the Herald, the number of

families that have dominated politics in Pakistan is 597. Every province is practically inundated with families which have controlled the political scene for decades (see dynasty lists on page 32). While most people around the country are familiar with perhaps only a few of the families who have become household names over the years, there are areas where many other lesser known families dominate.

The 1970 election was considered by many to be the turning point in Pakistan's political life. Not simply because it was considered to be the first 'free and fair' election to be held but also because it was assumed that the various new political parties that had come into being (Pakistan Peoples Party in the western wing and the rise of Awami League in the eastern wing are just two examples) and the liberal secular politics they espoused, would break the hold of the old, feudal and tribal dynasties and a new political world would emerge – one that was progressive and would move the country into a more enlightened era. The country did move into a new era but not the one anticipated by the progressive elements. The hold of the dynastic families had infiltrated the very core of the political system and could not be removed so easily.

Punjab has the highest number of dynasties at 379, according to the Herald data. Sindh, with 110 political dynasties, has the second highest number. There is hardly any rural area or constituency in the province that is not in the control of one or another of these dynastic clans. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, with 56 political dynasties, has the second lowest number and Balochistan has the lowest, with 45 political dynasties. Balochistan, however, is practically entirely under the control of tribal clans. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has many tribal dynasties as well but with, perhaps, lesser control over as many areas as can be seen in Balochistan.

In terms of moving towards a non-feudal polity, it is ironic that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been at the forefront longer than any other province, despite the fact that it has also harboured some of the most regressive elements in the country. Over the years, Punjab has also developed some non-feudal traits but large swathes of the province, especially in the southern parts, are still under a feudal yoke. Sindh remains the worst in this regard – there are no rural areas that are not under the control of feudal dynasties. Urban

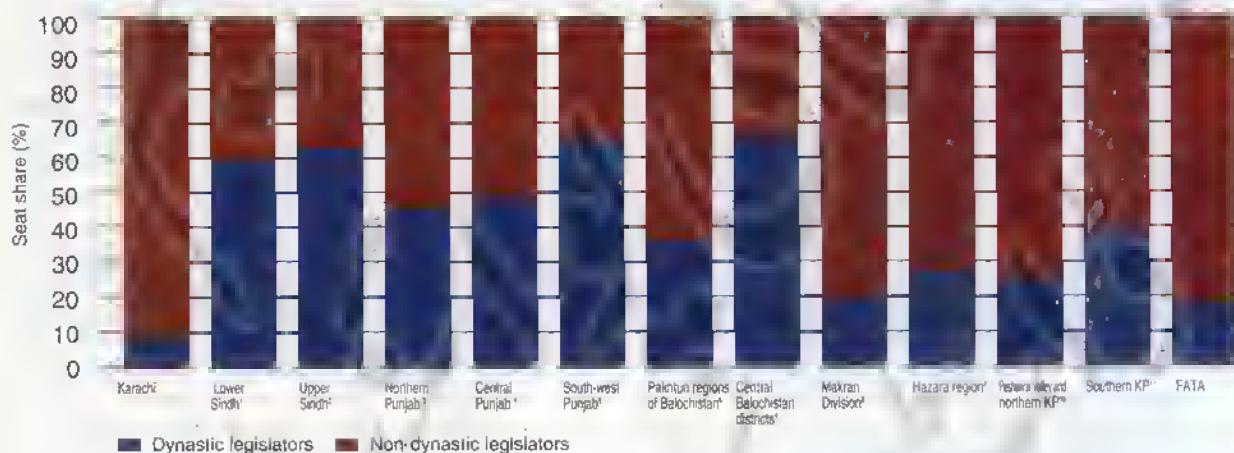
## Incidence of dynasticism across provinces\* (1970-2008)

\*Excludes seats reserved for minorities in the National Assembly and seats reserved for women in the National Assembly elected in 1970



## Incidence of dynasticism across regions\* (1970-2008)

\*Excludes reserved seats for women and minorities in the National Assembly and four Provincial Assemblies



1. Dadu, Badin, Thatta, Hyderabad, Jamshoro, Matiari, Tando Allah Yar, Tando Muhammad Khan, Mirpurkhas, Thar, Umarkot, Nagarparkar
2. Ghotki, Sukkur, Jacobabad, Kashmore, Shikarpur, Larkana, Kamber Shahdadkot, Nawabshah, Naushero Feroz, Khairpur, Sanghar
3. Attock, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Chakwal, Islamabad
4. Lahore, Sheikhupura, Nankana Sahib, Kasur, Narowal, Gujrat, Mendi Bahauddin, Hafizabad, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Jhang, Chiniot, Faisalabad, Toba Tek Singh, Sahiwal, Okara, Pakpattan, Khushab, Sargodha
5. Mianwali, Bhakkar, Multan, Khanawal, Vehari, Lodhran, Muzaffargarh, Layyah, Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan
6. Quetta, Zhob, Ziarat, Qilla Saifullah, Qilla Abdullah, Pishin, Musakhel, Loralai, Barkhan
7. Awaran, Bolan, Chagai, Dera Bugti, Jafferabad, Jhel Magsi, Kalat, Kharan, Khuzdar, Kohlu, Mastung, Nasirabad, Lasbela, Noshki, Sibi
8. Turbat, Kach, Gwadar, Pangur
9. Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Battagram, Kohistan, Torghai
10. Peshawar, Nowshera, Charsadda, Mardan, Swabi, Swat, Bunai, Shangla, Malakand, Lower Dir, Upper Dir, Chitral
11. Kohat, Karak, Hangu, Bannu, Lakki Marwal, Dera Ismail Khan, Tank

Sindh is different and has always been so. Balochistan, of course, remains almost exclusively tribal, with little hope and even less change over the years.

## The impact of urbanisation and its consequences

One of the most amazing phenomena over the past several decades has been the rapid rise of urbanisation in developing countries across the world, and Pakistan is no exception. The scale of urbanisation is perhaps the single most important feature of development in the last 50 years or so. From having only around a quarter of its population residing in urban areas at its inception, Pakistan is now

estimated to have close to 40 per cent of its citizens living in urban areas, based on official statistics. Given the fact that in many of the larger metropolises the actual number of residents is generally undercounted and that the last counts date back several years, it is more than likely that the actual urban population is now closer to 50 per cent.

One of the distinguishing features of this migration that has taken place from rural areas to urban areas is that more men – and of these more are those in their early working years, perhaps in the age bracket of 18 to 35 years – than women have moved to the cities. This skews the sex ratio of the cities (particularly the bigger cities, and most



certainly Karachi and Lahore) even more than it already was. Pakistan is one of those rare countries where the male to female ratio is marginally higher than one to one, with more males than females overall — a phenomenon that is the reverse of the rest of the world with very few exceptions.

Rapid urbanisation has also had a major impact on demands on the state and government. From increased housing and consequent demands on public utilities (water, electricity, transport, etc) and public education to an expected increase in public security (police force, etc), the additional burden and responsibility on state functionaries has been tremendous.

### Urban politics: its rise and its characteristics

With the phenomenal rise in urbanisation, one would expect the nature of politics in Pakistan to have changed to a more mature kind, moving away from a primitive tribal and feudal political dispensation to a more ideology-based bourgeois form. The advent of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) did bring about a massive change in the mindset of the population. With its populist slogan of "*roti, kapra aur makaan*", for the first time an ideology was offered that appealed to the masses and caught the imagination of both the urban and the rural poor. While the promise of prosperity remained largely undelivered, a voice had been given to the many for the first time. The potency of this promise — albeit unfulfilled — remains even to this day.

But as populism tried to shake the status quo, the establishment in its myriad forms retaliated with a vengeance. The army, humiliated after its defeat in 1971 and also due to its pivotal role in the break-up of Pakistan, desperately needed to re-establish its hold over the hearts and minds of the people. The bureaucracy was extremely insecure after its supposedly inviolable system had been tampered with and "upstarts" had been allowed into its hallowed ranks. Industry, banking and commerce were reeling from the 'socialist' onslaught on their wealth and resources. The religious right was aghast at the open 'decadence' that was being encouraged, which was mostly in their minds. The older political order was seeing its power base being eroded. The irony of it all was that since there was little progress being made in terms of the promised prosperity, the PPP government itself started making concessions to the army, the establishment and the religious right in an effort to continue its hold on power.

The backlash was severe and strong. To quote the Bard "what a fall was there, my countrymen". A military coup took place, with a promise to hold elections within 90 days, but instead resulted in a dark night that lasted 11 long years. The purpose of this article is not to go into post-coup events but to focus on the nature and consequences of dynastic and electoral politics. In this regard, two changes did come about as a result of army interference, which have directly impacted electoral politics in a very fundamental way.

The first was the birth of the openly ethnic, entirely urban-based political party, Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) brought into being with the full backing and support of the military with the intent to break PPP in its home base of Sindh. The second was the rise of the Sharif brothers in Punjab, again an urban-based move that resulted in taking a large part of urban Punjab away from PPP through the formation of a revitalised Pakistan Muslim League, one that eventually became Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN).

A third military interference that has detrimentally affected the country's social order and its very stability was the voice given to the extreme religious minority and the legitimacy accorded to its views — no matter how retrogressive and harmful to the country these views were. An indirect result of this has been to not only give some of the extremists a voice in electoral politics but more importantly to give most of them unhindered use of urban street power and the means to wreak violence and, more alarmingly, terrorism at will.

Without going into the details of how and why democracy and any democratic dispensation suffered during the Ziaul Haq years, suffice it to say that electoral politics changed irreversibly. On a more positive note, a purely urban-based polity emerged for the first time. While this has not always been devoid of problems, such as a never-ending cycle of ethnic violence and divisions, the result ultimately should have been to break — to an extent — the hold of older feudal and tribal orders and bring about a break from the dynastic politics of yore. But has this, in fact, happened? Has urban politics replaced feudal politics or has the feudal mindset been so strong that it has permeated urban bourgeois politics?

### The absorption and adoption of dynastic politics within a changing political order

From the list of dynastic families given in the latter part of this supplement, it is clear that

dynastic politics has not just remained confined to the old rural-based feudal and tribal order but has clearly permeated the urban-based parties — definitely so in Sindh, but also in Punjab. To a lesser extent, it has influenced even MQM. In the case of PPP and PMLN, this is understandable. Even though the message of these two parties was more ideological, they relied heavily on the support of feudal families to gain power and support across both urban and rural areas. These families soon became their power base. Right from the start, PPP had relied upon the support of the feudal system, especially in Sindh. So did PMLN. But MQM is a purely urban-based party, so what happened there?

The answer lies in the system of patronage that dominates politics in Pakistan. This, coupled with the fascination of the personality cult, has been the dominating influence. MQM, which has taken hold of large pockets of urban Sindh, did so on the strength (perceived, projected or otherwise) of one individual, Altaf Hussain. Is it a surprise that his supporters refer to him as Pir Sahib, an essentially rural, feudal title. His residence in Karachi — the legendary Nine Zero — is regarded as a place of reverence akin to a holy shrine. Here is a man of modest means, clearly middle class, with no feudal, family or tribal connections, turned into the urban equivalent of a feudal lord or even more. Almost 30 years since he first burst on the scene, Hussain continues to be the only individual in his party who enjoys such great reverence; no other MQM leader even comes close to that. This, clearly, is an example of how personality cults develop.

Yet, personality and reverence alone do not guarantee continued support and allegiance, especially in an urban setting where expectations are much higher and results, in one form or another, must be delivered to the core group of supporters, with the largesse being spread wide enough to keep hope alive about more of it coming. This is precisely where the role of patronage takes on paramount importance. MQM, for all its shortcomings and negative influences in terms of spreading fear, widening ethnic divisions and supporting its cause with extortion and violence when necessary, has provided its core support groups and the areas where it holds sway, with enough benefits. It has promoted their well-being and development enough (or, at least, created a perception that it is doing so) to keep its support alive and strong.

This is also where the impact of dynastic or generally more patronage-based politics on socio-economic development differs between

the more traditional feudal system and, even more so, tribal systems and their more recent forms. In the latter, and especially in those that are urban-based, attention to socio-economic development cannot be ignored, despite the assurance that one or another member of the dynasty will be re-elected. This is as true of MQM as it is of PPP in urban areas, and is certainly the case in urban Punjab, though with some differences in degree.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a special case. As mentioned earlier, it is characterised by a tradition of progressive politics and a more recent trend of increasing religious conservatism, creating profound and disturbing conflicts — often of a very violent nature — that have affected both urban and rural areas. Balochistan — where tribalism prevails and has done so for ages — is in even more dire straits. More recently, the province has become a haven for virulent forms of religious fundamentalism. To make matters worse, it has been at the receiving end of decades of discrimination against and suppression of its tribes and peoples at the hands of the establishment, resulting in an insurgency that does not bode well for any progress to take place, either electorally or socio-economically in the near future.

Dynastic politics has not left the religious parties untouched. Over time, perhaps having been influenced by the power that dynastic politics can wield in terms of electoral success, purely religious parties such as Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) have developed dynastic families of their own. The families of Maulana Fazlur Rahman and Qazi Hussain Ahmad are examples of this trend, with even the women in their families gaining electoral prominence.

While the messages of political parties differ in terms of expressed ideology — ranging from the secular, progressive socialist variety to the ethnic to the bourgeois capitalist and to the purely non-secular or the religious — the fact that dynastic politics has permeated all of them is evidence that dynastic politics was and continues to be the defining feature of politics in Pakistan.

### **Dynastic politics with or without an electoral system**

Electoral politics in Pakistan, particularly under democracy, has been an on-again off-again phenomenon. It may seem strange to talk of non-democratic electoral systems, but not so in Pakistan where the military has ruled for over half of the country's existence. Military dictators have used the electoral system, time



and again, to prop up their regimes and to try and give themselves some legitimacy, mostly with dire effects on political institutions and other organs of the state.

Each military ruler has tried to legitimise his rule by using both the politicians and the judiciary and has, in the process, unalterably changed the nature of the two. This has further resulted in changing the perception of many in the electorate towards their elected leaders and the judiciary. Politics has become a game of staying in power at all costs, where politicians from all parties and of all political persuasions have joined hands with the military rulers – and during the interregnum between military rulers, with each other – to stay in power and reap the benefits of this power.

The tampering of the constitution and of the legal system that took place during Haq's dictatorship has resulted in a completely changed political landscape. The power structure has been altered with the military playing a key role in determining the future of any political dispensation in the country, even when it is not itself ruling. It is a generally held belief that no major political decision is made without, at least, the tacit approval of the military leaders. Every politician is aware of this and keeps it in mind when vying for power. Alliances are of paramount importance for gaining power, and no alliance is more important than the one with the military, no matter how tenuous the relationship.

The creation of the Majlis-e-Shoora by Haq in 1985 was a blatant attempt to 'democratise' military rule. It was also used to make amendments to the constitution that have not been completely done away with since then. The 1985 assembly of elected representatives was created under the guiding hand of the military. Of course, the military made sure that those who were completely opposed to the Haq regime were kept out; a thorough weeding out took place to ensure that a rubber stamp assembly was created, made up of a 'ruling' government and an 'opposition'.

The military, over time and with experience, has perfected its game, gaining the support of diverse elements from within the political community, creating rifts and alliances within and between them, and playing the role of kingmaker par excellence. New dynastic alliances have emerged with the support of the military, while some earlier ones have been reinforced.

Feudal politics has been particularly prone to this trend, with alliances forming and breaking as many of the dynastic families as have tried

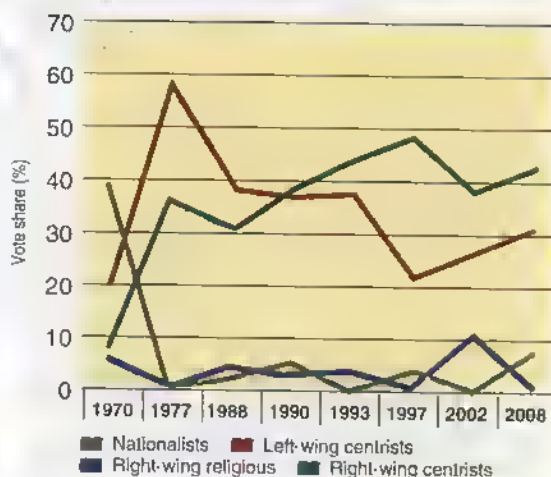
to reap benefits by becoming close to whoever is in power. Thus, the patronage of the military is yet another factor that has come into play with clients here being the dynastic families themselves. It is much easier for the military to gain the support of dynastic leaders who bring with themselves large followings, rather than to woo the wider public.

Tribal politics, especially in Balochistan, has been much more problematic. Because of a long-standing rift with the military and a protracted insurgency, the anger and animosity that tribal leaders harbour towards those who have attempted to destroy their way of life is not easy to discard or forget. Despite this, there exist rivalries among the tribes, which the military has exploited time and again, in order to maintain its hegemony in the province through an elaborate network of tribal dynasties always willing to work with the establishment and remain in power. The consequences have not been good. The province today remains rife with conflict and destruction. In this chaotic environment, it has been very easy for fanatical extremist elements to gain a foothold and this has happened not only in Balochistan but also parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Of course, the events in the region, and especially across the border in Afghanistan, have been a major factor in speeding up this process.

### Dynastic politics and socio-economic development

The above discussion suggests that dynastic politics should have an influence on socio-economic development. This influence can work in both directions. Given the dynamics at work, tribal and feudal systems should

Political orientation of parties in national elections since 1970



generally have a negative influence, with tribal dynasties being the least likely to give priority to the well-being of their electoral vote bank and feudal dynasties less so. This negative influence should result in worse socio-economic indicators in rural areas than in urban ones, especially when competition from more economically and socially progressive influences is minimal.

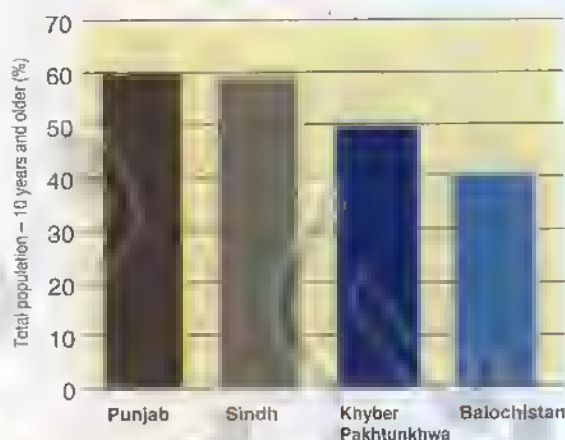
On the other hand, dynastic politics could well have a positive impact in less feudal surroundings, and particularly so, in more urbanised settings, even after accounting for the urban bias that pervades economic policies in general. This is a very important caveat. Urban centres such as Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Islamabad and even Hyderabad clearly have far more resources devoted to development, no matter what the form of the political leadership. Furthermore, urban centres are prone to mass movements or protests if a certain level of progress is not made and certain amenities and services not provided. For these reasons, it is difficult to assign causation and assess the correlation between dynastic politics and economic progress, especially in the larger, already more developed urban centres.

A few selected indicators of socio-economic development from the Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurements (PSLM) 2010-2011 have been used to draw inferences in support of the above hypothesis, to provide a brief snapshot of the priorities given to the needs of the electorate by the elected representatives and the links to dynastic politics that this evidence suggests. Of course, it has to be remembered that dynastic politics alone is not the only factor that influences the socio-economic situation, and there are many reasons (economic, social, cultural, historic) that have resulted in these patterns. But what is being suggested is that certain kinds of dynastic politics reinforce already existing disparities, while others may do the opposite. Also, the form of politics – dynastic or otherwise – influences what direction development, especially social progress, will take.

## Literacy

This indicator is being used as a proxy for human development and social progress. Delving further into the district level breakdown for this indicator, and trying to link the areas with the lowest levels of literacy to the kind of dynastic politics prevailing in that area, one can see that this hypothesis is borne out by the evidence, both across provinces and within each province.

## Literacy across the country



Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey, 2010-2013

Starting with Punjab, the three lowest ranked districts in terms of literacy are Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Rajanpur, in descending order. The remaining ten lowest ranked districts comprise Bhakkar, Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur, Lodhran, Rahim Yar Khan, Pakpattan and Chiniot, in that order. When compared to the top ten ranked districts (Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Chakwal, Lahore, Jhelum, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Toba Tek Singh, Faisalabad and Sialkot in descending order), it is quite evident that the lower ranked districts are not only rural but also relatively more feudal (or even tribal, in the case of Dera Ghazi Khan), and certainly more prone to retrogressive dynastic politics. The further one goes down the ranking, the more pronounced are these characteristics. The more urbanised the district, the higher the ranking. Not only this, but the difference between the top ranked and the lowest ranked districts is highly pronounced. The average literacy rate for Punjab is 60 per cent. In Islamabad, however, it is 82 per cent (and the other top five districts are all in the 75 to 79 per cent range), while Rajanpur, at the other end, only has a 34 per cent literacy rate (and the other lowest five districts are in the 40 to 45 per cent range).

Moving to Sindh, Karachi is obviously the highest ranked, followed by Hyderabad and then come Dadu, Sukkur, Naushero Feroz, Mirpur Khas and Khairpur, in that order. At the other end, Thatta is the lowest ranked. Tando Muhammad Khan, Jacobabad, Badin, and Kashmore make up the other lowest five ranking districts. Although Karachi and Hyderabad are 79 per cent and 69 per cent, respectively, the overall literacy rate is 59 per



cent. The lowest five districts are only in the 35 to 40 per cent range, and have not shown much improvement over the years. Thus the two urban areas are doing fine in this regard, but the rest are not, which is perhaps indicative of the firmly entrenched feudal dynastic system. Other than the two main urban centres of Sindh, the prevalence of dynastic families in the rest of the province is endemic. The list of families runs into many scores in Sindh, with many of these being very old feudal families. Some of them have no feudal lineage, but have recently developed dynastic power through party connections and support. Even though dynastic families are emerging in Karachi and Hyderabad, their impact on social progress has not been negative.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is characterised by much greater differentials between urban and rural literacy rates. Thus, while the provincial average is only around 50 per cent literacy, the leading districts such as Haripur, Abbotabad, Chitral and Malakand (the top four in that order) have much higher than average literacy rates. The main urban centre, Peshawar, ranks just sixth among 24 districts at only 54 per cent. While the top three districts are in the 60 to 70 per cent range; all the others are closer to

50 per cent or lower, with the lowest, Kohistan, at only 26 per cent.

These low numbers can be due to several reasons. First, there is a large variety of political structures at play in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, ranging from the more progressive variety and more enlightened kind to the very conservative religious one. Second, there have been widening differences as a result of these opposing forces between some urban areas and principalities like Chitral and others, in particular the more remote and rural ones where retrogressive tribal systems and conservative rule are paramount. Most importantly, female literacy remains abysmally low in these less developed areas.

In Balochistan, the numbers reflect quite clearly that social development leaves a lot to be desired. But even here, there are some exceptions. There are also some surprising shifts between the last PSLM survey done in 2008-2009 and the latest one. Quetta is at the top position with a 64 per cent literacy rate, but Mastung improved from 37 per cent to 58 per cent between the two surveys, moving it to the number two position (from number 19). Sibi has progressed from 46 per cent to just under 58 per cent, moving it to number three (from number 9), and Ziarat has dropped from a staggering 71

By Dr Shahid Zahid

## Ruling over minds

**T**he latest Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) for 2010-2011 presents probably the most recent information available on indicators of social progress and human development (literacy, education, health, housing, access to water, electricity and gas, perceptions of well-being and the economic situation in the country).

If we take literacy as a proxy indicator for the most basic requirement for human development – and indirectly for social progress – comparing literacy levels (for people aged 10 years and older) between urban and rural areas provides some interesting evidence regarding the differences

between rural and urban areas and also shows male-female differences. This, in turn, can be viewed as indicating the priority accorded to human development and the gender-related bias displayed by the ruling elite since they have the power and possess the means to promote such development. Another reason for choosing this indicator is that it is one area that requires minimal resources, mainly the willingness of the rulers to give it priority.

Overall, the country has a literacy rate of 58 per cent; males have a literacy rate of 69 per cent while literate females are 46 per cent of the population. In terms of the provincial breakdown, Punjab and Sindh are both slightly above the average, with

60 per cent and 59 per cent literacy rate, respectively. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has a literacy rate of only 50 per cent, while Balochistan is way below the average at only 41 per cent. This is as expected.

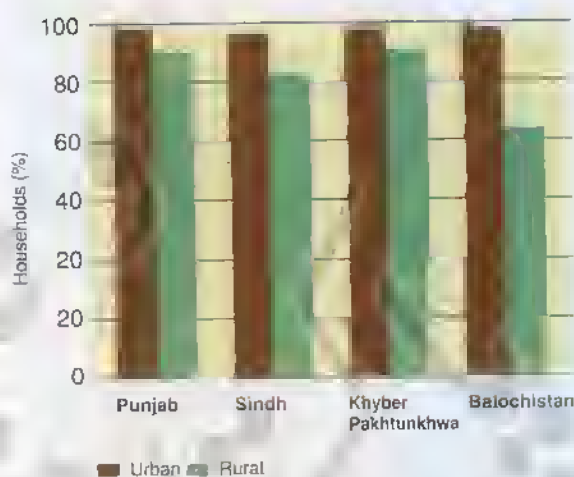
The urban-rural differences within provinces and between provinces, however, are perhaps unexpected. Punjab has the highest rate of urban literacy at 76 per cent, closely followed by Sindh at 75 per cent and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at 63 per cent. Balochistan has an urban literacy rate of 61 per cent. But while the rural literacy rate is also highest in Punjab (53 per cent), the second highest rural literacy rate is not in Sindh (42 per cent) but in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (48 per cent). Balochistan, again as

per cent to just 45 per cent, downgrading it to number 10 (from number one). It is not clear why this is so, and the information available provides no answers so one has to view the evidence with caution. Not surprisingly, Dera Bugti is at the bottom of the pile at number 30, lowest among all the districts in the province with female literacy at just one per cent.

## Electrification

Next, let us look at a variable that differs from the above two in one fundamental way. It is the level of electrification (percentage of households using electricity for lighting) across the country and at the provincial and district level. The reason this indicator is special is because electrification is the responsibility of a federally managed autonomous body for most of the country (Water and Power Development Authority or Wapda), and is supplied by an independent privatised corporation in Karachi (Karachi Electricity Supply Corporation or KESC). Both these entities fall outside the direct jurisdiction of the elected governments, and thus one may assume that they are subject to limited interference or influence from the elected representatives. With universal electrification being the

Electrification in urban & rural areas in Pakistan



Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey, 2010-2013

stated goal of both Wapda and KESC, one would expect there to be less variation across provinces and, within provinces, across districts. Any variations should be attributable to several factors, including the remoteness of the area and accessibility due to difficult terrain.

expected, lags behind in rural literacy rate (31 per cent).

Male to female literacy ratios follow a similar pattern. Punjab has the highest urban female literacy (71 per cent) followed by Sindh (68 per cent), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (50 per cent) and Balochistan (40 per cent) in the same order. Rural female literacy is also the highest in Punjab (42 per cent), but it is once again second highest in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (29 per cent), followed by Sindh (22 per cent) and then Baluchistan (13 per cent). Is there a pattern here that suggests that rural Sindh is less inclined towards encouraging literacy than rural Khyber Pakhtunkhwa? While there are many social, cultural and historical reasons for this, it could also be attributed to the lack of interest shown by the ruling elite; this could be a result of rural Sindh having a

much stronger feudal base than Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Since there is no incentive for the dynastic rulers to change behaviour, having their election victories almost guaranteed with little or no competition, the priorities need not change.

In recent years, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has been much in the news for the relentless efforts of some groups to curtail female education (and thus literacy) by violent means. Due to this, it is generally assumed that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is lagging behind in this respect. But it could be that it is, in fact, due to the relative importance that has been given to female education here, that there is this conservative backlash in a province marred by an ever-widening rift between progressive elements and the increasingly conservative religious elements.

Moreover, it is both male and female literacy that lags behind in rural Sindh. This is more likely a result of the lack of encouragement by the rural ruling class for human development and social progress for the population as a whole, and not just women, and is much more likely a result of the lower priority attached to social progress by the rural elite in Sindh than in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Given the nature of dynastic politics and its hold in Sindh, it is unlikely that social progress will make any headway unless the system of politics changes, for only then will the ruling elite realise its obligation to the electorate. The low level of human development and social progress in Balochistan overall, and in its rural areas in particular, is clearly a result of an even more entrenched tribal system that has even less incentive to change. ■



Overall, the level of electrification in the country is very high, with a little over 90 per cent of households having electricity connections, of which 98 per cent are urban and close to 88 per cent rural. Province-wise, it is Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (at 93.4 per cent), that leads in both urban and rural electrification rates and not Punjab, which is a close second (at 93.1 per cent). Sindh is third with 90.2 per cent of households electrified. The urban-rural difference is more pronounced in Sindh (with 97.6 per cent urban households electrified compared to 82.3 per cent rural ones) than in either Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or Punjab. Balochistan is well behind at fourth place, at 72 per cent, with the urban-rural divide highly pronounced (98.4 per cent urban houses electrified, even higher than those in Sindh, but only 64.5 per cent electrified in the rural areas).

As one would expect, there are variations at the district level, both across and within provinces. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the lowest level of electrification is in some rural areas. Kohistan, which is entirely rural, is only 57 per cent electrified. Rural Karak is 74 per cent electrified and rural Mansehra is 77 per cent electrified. Buner, also all rural, is 80 per cent electrified but Battagram, which too is all rural, is 100 per cent electrified. In Punjab, too, while urban rates are almost all well above 95 per cent and in most cases close to 100 per cent, there are several districts which have low rural electrification rates (Rajapur at 56 per cent, Dera Ghazi Khan at 60 per cent, Layyah at 71 per cent and Bahawalpur at 76 per cent). Similarly, Sindh also has low rural electrification rates in many districts (Tharparkar 44 per cent, Thatta 59 per cent, Badin 64 per cent, Tando Muhammad Khan 65 per cent, rural Karachi 67 per cent and Umerkot 70 per cent). Balochistan is the worst with the overall rural electrification rate at 65 per cent, compared to its urban electrification rate of 98 per cent. The rural electrification rate in Dera Bugti is only six per cent; in Chaghai it is 21 per cent (with urban Chaghai at 100 per cent); in Washuk the rural electrification rate is 22 per cent; in Awaran (all rural) it is 29 per cent; in Turbat it is 32 per cent and in Gwadar it is 41 per cent.

Some of these numbers can be explained by the remoteness of the area — and in the case of Balochistan, in terms of vast distances. But there are several parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa that could be considered equally remote and still they have high rates of electrification. So, are we again seeing the effect of feudal and tribal influences in not promoting electrification, even when this is being done by agencies outside the

purview of the elected representatives? The districts that are low on this indicator in all provinces include mainly those where the feudal and tribal orders prevail. It would seem that promoting development in their constituencies is not a priority for the elected representatives in these districts.

### Source of drinking water

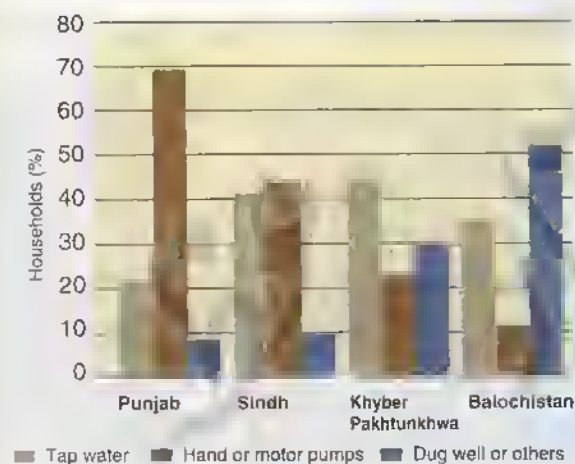
This indicator gives the proportion of households which source their drinking water through a tap. The numbers for the country as a whole are not very encouraging. Overall, 32 per cent of all households get water from taps (58 per cent of them are urban and just 19 per cent of them are rural), 55 per cent of all households get their water from groundwater sources through hand or motor pumps, while the remaining use dug well or 'other' sources.

Provincial data provides some interesting differences. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has the highest proportion of households with access to running water from taps (45 per cent), followed by Sindh (43 per cent), then Balochistan (35 per cent), and lastly Punjab (24 per cent); 69 per cent of all households Punjab use hand and motor pumps. In Sindh, 46 per cent households use hand or motor pumps; in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 24 per cent households use these sources and in Balochistan, 12 per cent households do so.

The PSLM data clearly reflects the geographical and topographical characteristics of each province. Punjab and Sindh both have extensive canal systems and major reserves of groundwater, so the heavy reliance on hand and motor pumps in rural areas is no surprise. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has a combination of relatively flat land and mountainous terrain and its relatively lower reliance on pumps reflects this; Balochistan is relatively dry and arid with little or no groundwater so has very limited possibilities to use pumps. Its reliance is much more on 'other' sources (with 37 per cent of all households in the province using unspecified 'other' means, including four per cent urban and 47 per cent rural households). One can guess that these sources could include canals and streams, and where possible, rainwater through the karez, a system of accumulating rain and stream water that has been in use for very long in Balochistan's rural areas for irrigation.

Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab has a heavy reliance on 'other' sources (31 per cent) and Rahim Yar Khan has 24 per cent urban households using 'other' sources. In Sindh, it is urban Jacobabad that relies most heavily on 'other' sources with 56 per cent of urban

## Sources of drinking water across province



Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey, 2010-2013

households citing this as their source of running water. In Umarkot, 37 per cent of total households use 'other' sources, in Thatta 28 per cent total households, in Dadu 24 per cent rural households and in Mirpurkhas 27 per cent rural households also use these 'other' sources.

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Kohistan (92 per cent households) and Upper Dir (82 per cent households) have the heaviest reliance on 'other' sources but this is most likely due to their remoteness.

The data clearly suggests that households with the heaviest reliance on 'other' sources are those which have more tribal or entrenched feudal systems, and correspondingly more dynastic families.

## Conclusion

The arguments made above have been an attempt to demonstrate the hold of dynastic politics on the country's electoral system and the possible impact this has had, not only on the state of the political order but, more importantly, on the prospects for socio-economic progress in areas where the hold of dynasties has been most pervasive. Not only does it appear that the hold of dynastic politics is much stronger than is generally assumed but that its impact on the progress of the country, whether politically or socio-economically, has been far more regressive than any of the traditional politicians or the entrenched political parties would be willing to admit.

Even the advent of intense urbanisation has not lessened the hold of the dynastic families, except in some areas, as has been seen by the secure control across several elections by the


large number of families involved in politics over the decades. In fact, in many cases, urban politics has adopted its own form of dynastic politics – different, perhaps, to either the feudal variety or the tribal one – but still very much dynastic in terms of voter preferences. The major difference, however, is in terms of the impact the new form of urban dynasties have had on socio-economic progress. While an urban bias in terms of development clearly affects the way these new urban families can or may impact progress in their constituencies, it is clear that they will need to deliver on some of their electoral promises unlike the feudal families, and most especially the tribal ones, who have little competition when it comes to getting the votes in their constituencies and, therefore, are not obliged to deliver on anything unless they feel the need to.

There are various other influences that impact the incentives for politicians, whether they belong to the traditional families who have dominated the scene, or even the newer ones. The military, for instance, has time and again interfered in the political order directly and indirectly for many years, thus becoming a dominant deciding factor in perpetuating dynastic politics despite claims to the contrary.

What does this portend for the future of electoral politics in the country, and prospects for both political and socio-economic progress? It can be premised that unless the hold of the dynastic families is shaken – and at some point broken – the prospects for both are pretty grim. Urban politics needs to be kept free from dynastic influence as much as possible, despite apparent evidence that in urban areas economic progress can take place, albeit in a limited way, even when dynastic families emerge.

The other possible area for optimism is the fact that new political forces are emerging. The downside is that many of these, in an effort to cater to populism, are not espousing any secular or progressive ideas. In fact, this is the worst aspect of what is being said by all political forces today. There is no economic programme, or even an ideologically progressive platform that is being articulated by any one. All that seems to be uppermost in their minds (and in their messages) is to gain a political hold in any way possible, mainly through a string of promises. Not very promising. Through a slow and iterative democratic process, however, some things may change. This, in fact, is the only hope. The fact that elections are taking place, and should continue to do so, is the only way to expect some positive progress. ■





By Alizeh Kohari

# The cost of kin(g)ship

How legacy politics has prospered in Pakistan

An election conducted freely and fairly is a wondrous affair: on a select day, millions turn up at polling stations, tick a box, topple a government and elect a new one in its place. In with the new, out with the old (unless you happen to like the old), a systematic conferral of power.

But power-seekers are stubborn creatures, and wily ones at that; they have learnt just how to ride the crests and troughs of Pakistan's patchy electoral history. And so it is that over the course of time, from the achievement of independence to the experiment with indirect democracy, through three military coups and nine general elections, the faces that have filled successive legislative assemblies may gradually have changed but the accompanying surnames have more or less remained the same. Politics in Pakistan sometimes less resembles a collection of single-man enterprises and more a consortium of sprawling family businesses; the Herald's special supplement on political dynasties is an exploration of those groups of people whose accident of birth has automatically placed them at the doorstep of power.

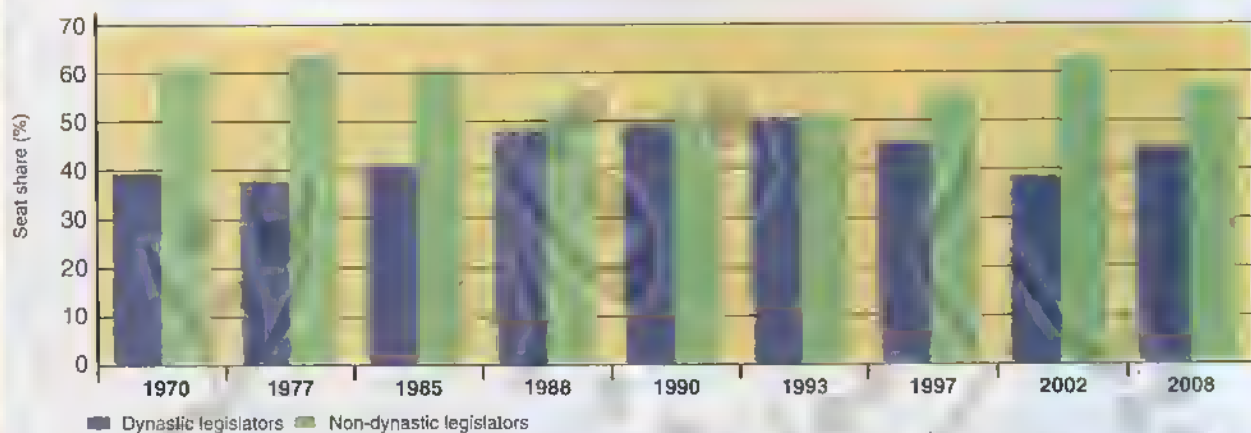
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For over 40 years, the upper and lower chambers of the Pakistani parliament have been a second (or third, or fourth) home to some 597 families, who have all had two or more members serving in

various assemblies since 1970, the date of the first one person-one vote election in the country. Some of these families, such as Jatois of Naushero Feroze, have had as many as 11 family members walk the hallowed halls of parliament; Legharis of Dera Ghazi Khan have had 14. Although the latter takes the lead in absolute numbers, the former can flaunt another distinction: in 2008, four of Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's sons held, between them, two provincial assembly seats, one National Assembly seat and one Senate seat, granting the family simultaneous representation in all three legislative forums — a national record of sorts. (As a counterpoint, the Legharis can always point to the presence of a president in their ranks.)

These approximately 600 families account for roughly 43 per cent of the 7,600-plus legislative seats that have been available in the National Assembly, four provincial assemblies and the Senate for electoral contests since 1970. What do we make of this figure? Certainly, 'five-hundred-and-ninety-seven' packs less of a punch than 'twenty-two', the number of family groups that dominated Pakistan's economic and financial life in the 1960s, according to economist Dr Mahbubul Haq, controlling two-thirds of the country's industrial assets, 80 per cent of its banking and 79 per cent of its insurance. But it does serve as an indication of the persistence and pervasiveness of dynastic tendencies within the ambit of politics.

Incidence of dynasticism over time\* (1970-2008)

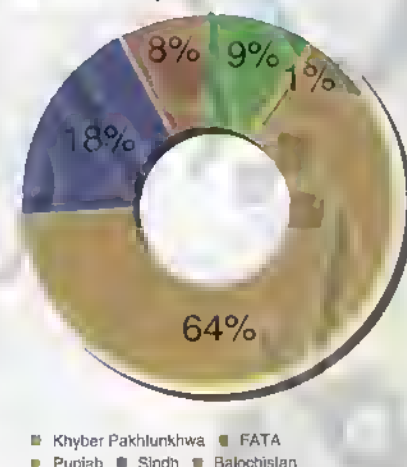


\*Includes seats from the National Assembly, four provincial assemblies and the Senate. Senate tenures have been grouped to coincide with the general election cycle

The phenomenon is by no means limited to a few first families at the forefront of political affairs; while these are often accused of handing down party leadership to their next generation "like a piece of family furniture," a similar practice appears (overwhelmingly) to be at work at district and constituency levels, with seats often passed from father to son or from uncle to nephew (the two most common familial links) like hereditary *jaagir*. In the district of Lasbela, for example, home to Bhootanis and Jams of Lasbela, only one individual failed to fall within the umbrella of a dynasty. The man in question, one Ghulam Akbar Lasi, triumphed twice from the National Assembly's constituency NA-206, exhibiting a curious desire to swim against the tide by contesting the 1988 polls from the platform of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad, and in 1993, less adventurously, on a Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) ticket.

It is important to note that 'unattached legislators' such as Lasi are not necessarily the antithesis to dynastic lawmakers. Firstly, in many instances, the political clout of an elected representative is limited to a single constituency; in such cases, there is as yet no space for a politically-minded sibling or cousin or offspring to flex his or her political muscle. For Sheikhupura-based Barjees Tahir, winner of four National Assembly seats between 1990 and 2008, for instance, a dynasty may perhaps lie in the near future, as yet unrealised. The same goes for

Provincial distribution of identified dynasties



Hamid Nasir Chattha of Gujranwala, Chaudhry Amir Hussain of Sialkot, Sardar Yar Muhammad Rind from Balochistan and Mehtab Ahmed Khan Abbasi from Abbotabad. Secondly, 'unattached legislators' aren't necessarily without their own sources of influence, even if this stems from outside the arena of politics. The wellsprings of power in Pakistan, as people are so quick to point out, lie largely outside the walls of parliament. Thus, while a substantial number of legislators do serve an

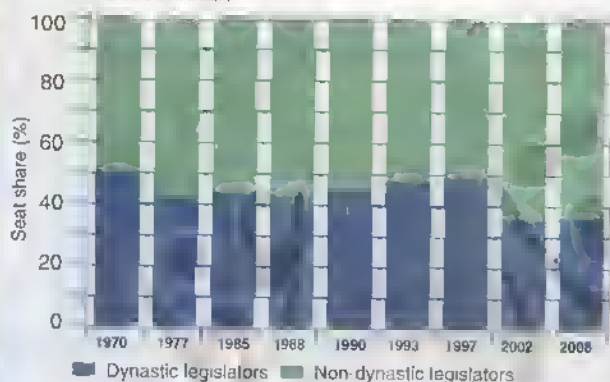
apprenticeship of sorts in city and district governments before graduating to provincial and national politics, an equally large number enhance their electability through personal links with the military, bureaucracy or big businesses.

For the political families identified in this publication to have kinship links, it may be noted that the political influence of a large proportion, particularly those belonging to the landed elite, did not begin in 1970. Many of today's dynasts, in fact, are the second and third generation descendants of the people who have been in power since the beginning of vote-based politics in the subcontinent in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. "The list of National Assembly candidates for the elections this month reads like a list of who's who of feudals in Pakistan," mused the Herald in its 1988 pre-election issue:

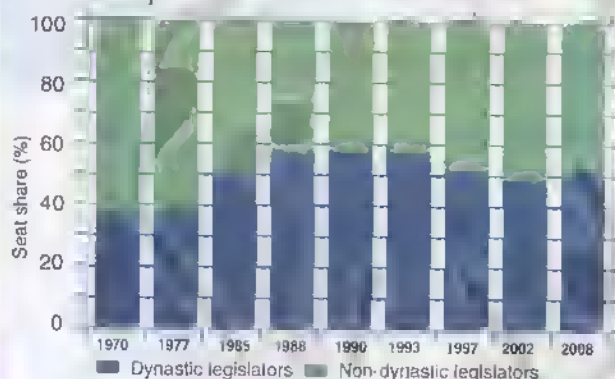


## Incidence of dynasticism\* (1970-2008)

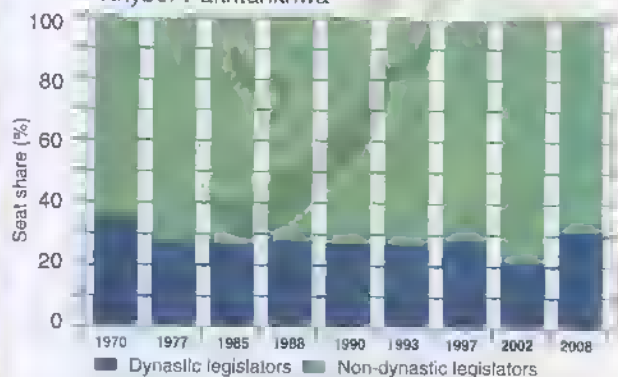
### Balochistan



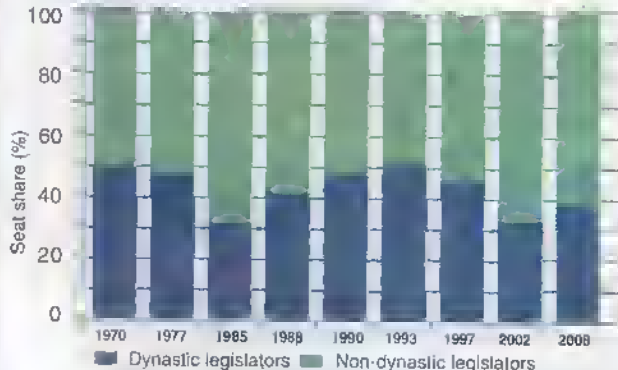
### Punjab



### Khyber Pakhtunkhwa



### Sindh



\*Excludes seats reserved for minorities in the National Assembly and seats reserved for women in the National Assembly of 1970

"It is not difficult to spot the Rashdis, the Chandios, the Bhuttos, the Syeds, the Khuhros, the Jatois, the Makhdooms, from Sind. The Bugtis, the Jamalis and the Jogeais dominate 'representation' from Baluchistan, while the Khattaks and the Arbabs carry on the tradition in the NWFP. Meanwhile, the princes of Kalat, Bahawalpur, Swat and Chitral, the Shamsabadis, the Legharis, the Drishaks, the Mazaris, the Gilanis, the Qureshis, the Wattoos, the Dahas, the Manekas, the Bokharis, and the Chatthas, make up the list of big names from the Punjab. These are the clans and families that have been representing the people of Pakistan in the legislatures since 1920."

If anything, the surging populist sentiment of the early 1970s threatened the political clout of these *mirs*, *pirs* and *waderas*. For this reason, as well as for the fact that it marked the country's first general election held on the basis of adult franchise, 1970 is a good starting point for any exploration of the incidence of dynasticism in local electoral politics. As it played out, however, this little shake-up was promptly reversed in the next election cycle, as Zulfikar Ali Bhutto replaced his earlier populism with the politics of expediency, ushering all and sundry into his party. And so it is that of the 365 political dynasties represented in the outgoing National Assembly as well as the four provincial assemblies, more than a hundred also had members who sat in the National Assembly and provincial assemblies of 1970.

Indeed, the percentage of seats occupied by the members of political dynasties identified in this publication has experienced minimal changes over successive electoral cycles, registering a minimum incidence of 37 per cent in 1977 and peaking in 1993 at nearly 50 per cent. In the 2008 electoral cycle, approximately 44 per cent of all seats were occupied by members of identified political dynasties. Among the provinces, Punjab records the highest incidence of dynasticism at 50 per cent (in southern Punjab the number rises to 64 per cent), followed by Balochistan at 44 per cent. Sindh comes a close third at 41 per cent (within the province, the level of dynasticism in Karachi is less than nine per cent), followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at 28 per cent and Federally Administered Tribal Areas at 18 per cent.

\*\*\*\*

How have these families managed to remain politically relevant for so long? One possible reason for their longevity is an uncanny ability to bend with the wind. A prime example of this are Arbabs of Peshawar, whose main representative in the post-1970 era, former chief minister of the North West Frontier Province, Arbab Muhammad Jehangir, remained at varying points in time: a *roti-kapra*-



Muhammad Ali Jinnah with members of the 1946 Sindh Legislative Assembly

nakaan chanting PPP representative, an Awami National Party supporter and a member of Pakistan Muslim League. He served with equal gusto under Bhutto, General Ziaul Haq and prime ministers Muhammad Khan Junejo and Balakh Sher Mazari. It is this sort of flexibility, particularly among the traditional ruling class and visible as far back as the 1946 pre-partition elections when feudals joined the All India Muslim League in droves, which has contributed to the relatively stable incidence of dynasticism across time. (Of course, it is worth noting that ideological agility doesn't always guarantee political success, as has been the case for another Arbab – Arbab Khizer Hayat – who has switched party allegiances 14 times since joining politics in 1996 but has so far failed to win a single seat.)

A more recent example of how dexterously the political elite deal with challenges to their electoral and legislative presence is their reaction to the imposition, by Gen (retd) Pervez Musharraf, of a graduate degree clause on electoral eligibility. This caused veteran politicians to flood the 2002 and 2008 assemblies with their more educated spouses and/or offspring thereby perpetuating the trend of dynastic politics.

Beyond the tendency to use parties as mere stepping stones to accrue power also lie more systematic attempts to remain relevant, particularly in the face of increasing urbanisation and under the constant scrutiny of mass media. These include: the maintenance and mobilisation of local electoral machines, run through hired but trained political hands, and *biradari* networks regulated and operated through loyal intermediaries, the utilisation of personal wealth and property as well as access to public resources to dispense patronage, the cultivation of public personas and, (usually) as a final resort, the use of violence and coercion. For their part, come election time, political parties are usually happy to adopt candidates and clans who bring such resources ('electoral capital') to the table — after all, conventional wisdom dictates that a party is only as electable as the number of 'electables' within it. So parties choose candidates that they think will win; candidates join parties that they think will win. But in such alliances of convenience, what of the ordinary citizens who wish to try their hand at joining politics as public service? And what of the public itself? ■

**Note:** The dynasties detailed in the following pages are constructed around one 'dynast', either the first individual from that family to win a national, provincial or Senate seat or that family's best-known political figure. In some special cases, individuals were selected as dynasts because they brought together legislators who would otherwise not fall under the umbrella of a single family. A dynasty, as identified in this publication, includes all elected legislators (in the national and provincial assemblies as well as the senate, since 1970) who are related in the following manner to the identified dynast: grandfather/grandmother, mother/father, uncle/aunt, father-/mother-in-law, co-father/mother-in-law (known locally as 'samdhi'), husband/wife, brother/sister, first cousin, brother-/sister-in-law, son/daughter, nephew/niece, son-/daughter-in-law, grandson-/granddaughter-in-law. This has led to the occasional exclusion of legislators more distantly related to the selected dynast. For instance, Khwaja Muhammad Daud Sulemani is the son of Khwaja Ghulam Suleman, first cousin of Khwaja Kemaluddin Anwar (the head of the Khwajas of Taunsa), but has been excluded because he is not directly related to the identified dynast.

Research on political dynasties:

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Data compilation by:

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Family profiles by:

Faiza Shah, Faiza Virani,

Saba Fatima Mirza,

Sabina Qazi and

Umer Farooq



# SINDH

## Karachi

### Aamir Liaquat's family

Dynast: Aamir Liaquat Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sheikh Liaquat Hussain	Father	MNA / 97
Aamir Liaquat Hussain	Himself	Fed Minister / 02

## Larkana

### Dr Ashraf Abbasi's family

Dynast: Dr Ashraf Abbasi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Ashraf Abbasi	Himself	Prov Minister / 77, Dep Speaker-NA / 88, Dep Speaker-NA / 70
Haji Munawwar Ali Abbasi	Son	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 97, MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Dr Safdar Ali Abbasi	Son	Senator / 94, Senator / 03, Senator / 03, Senator / 06
Naheed Khan	Daughter-in-law	MNA / 02

## Karachi

### Abdul Hakim Baloch's family

Dynast: Abdul Hakim Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Rahim Baloch	Brother-in-law	MNA / 88
Abdul Hakim Baloch	Himself	MPA / 93

## Badin / Hyderabad

### Haji Abdul Khaliq Soomro's family

Dynast: Haji Abdul Khaliq Soomro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Abdul Khaliq Soomro	Himself	MPA / 77, Adviser / 85, MPA / 97
Abdul Karim Soomro	Son	MPA / 08

## Dadu

### Abdullah Shah's family

Dynast: Abdullah Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdullah Shah	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, Dep Speaker-NA / 77, Speaker-PA / 88, CM / 93, Senator / 91
Murad Ali Shah	Son	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08

## Nawabshah

### Ali Ahmad Shah's family

Dynast: Syed Ali Ahmad Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ali Ahmad Shah	Himself	MPA / 02
Syed Fasih Ahmad Shah	Son	MPA / 08.

## Hyderabad / Tharparkar

### Ali Nawaz Shah's family

Dynast: Ali Nawaz Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ali Nawaz Shah	Himself	MPA / 77, Fed Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 08, Senator / 94
Syed Irfan Ali Shah	Nephew	MPA / 02

## Hyderabad / Tando Allahyar

### Bachanis

Dynast: Abdus Sattar Bachani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdus Sattar Bachani	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MPA / 97
Shamshad Sattar Bachani	Wife	MNA / 02, MNA / 08

## Khairpur

### Banbhan

Dynast: Bashir Ahmad Banbhan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Bashir Ahmad Banbhan	Himself	MPA / 02, MPA / 90
M Rafiq Banbhan	Brother	Prov Minister / 08

## Khairpur

### Banbhan (Elahi)

Dynast: M Elahi Bakhsh Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Elahi Bakhsh Khan	Himself	MPA / 70
Sajid Ali Banbhan	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Zahid Ali Banbhan	Son	MPA / 02

## Positions key

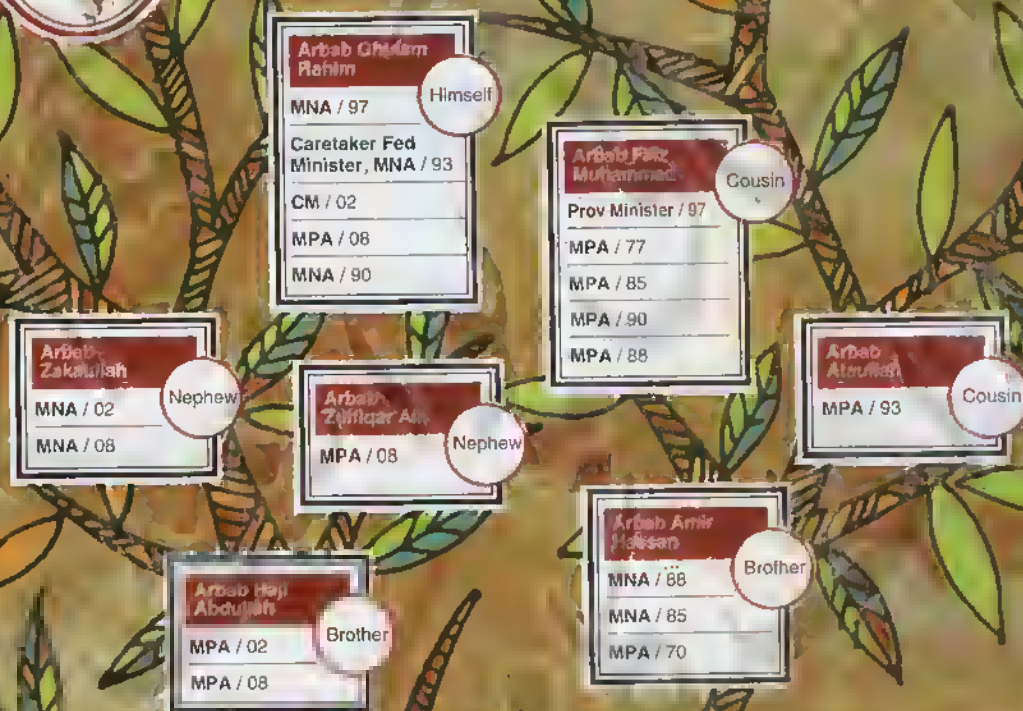
President (Pres), Prime Minister (PM), Speaker of the National Assembly (Speaker-NA), Chief Minister (CM), Chairman Senate (Ch-Sen), Speaker of the Provincial Assembly (Speaker-PA), Leader of the Opposition (Lead Opp-Fed), Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly (Dep Speaker), Federal Minister (Fed Minister), Deputy Chairman Senate (Dep Ch-Sen), Minister of State (State Minister), Governor (Gov), Provincial leader of the Opposition (Lead Opp-Prov), Deputy Speaker of the Provincial Assembly (Dep Speaker-PA), Provincial minister (Prov Minister), Caretaker Prime Minister (Caretaker PM), Member National Assembly (MNA), Senator (Senator), Caretaker Chief Minister (Caretaker CM), Member Provincial Assembly (MPA), Caretaker minister (federal) (Caretaker Fed Minister), Member National Assembly (Reserved seat for minorities) (MNA (M)), Caretaker minister (provincial) (Caretaker Prov Minister), Federal advisor (Fed Advisor), Provincial advisor (Advisor).



Thar

## Arbabs of Tharparkar

Dynast: Arbab Ghulam Rahim



Arbabs have withstood many political storms in the country to retain their electoral monopoly over politics in Thar. Even in the 1970s when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's popularity was sweeping through the entire western part of Pakistan, they remained relatively unscathed. Tribal links and vast patronage networks are the sources of their unrelenting influence in the area. In one major indication of their hold on the politics of Thar, one member of the family won twice from the same seat in two years, while also facilitating an easy win for Shaukat Aziz who later became the prime minister of Pakistan.

Arbabs have been winning elections, mostly as independents, since the early days of electoral politics in Pakistan. They briefly joined the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), first in 1977 and then in 1993. But the highest point in the family's political history came in 2004 when its most eminent member Dr Arbab Rahim became the chief minister of Sindh. He reminded many of the late Jam Sadiq Ali by using strong-arm tactics, bribery, and the lure of influence to create defections in PPP in order to ensure his own stay in power. In 2008, he shifted to Dubai after a PPP worker threw a shoe at him in the Sindh Assembly building.

Arbab Rahim came back to Pakistan only a few weeks before the May 11 election, and like always he and other members of his family are contesting elections on the independent platform of their own Peoples Muslim League.



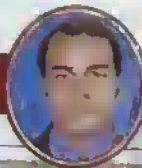


Hyderabad

## Bhooral Shah's family

Dynast: Syed Muhammad Hassan Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed M Hassan Shah	Himself	MPA / 70,
Syed Umeed Ali Shah	Son	MNA / 77, Prov.Minister / 93 MPA / 97
Syed Ali Nawaz Shah Rizvi	Son	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08

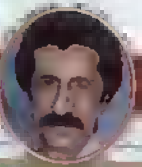


Karachi

## Bhuttos of Karachi

Dynast: Lal Bakhsh Bhutto

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lal Bakhsh Bhutto	Himself	MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93
Nadeem Ahmad Bhutto	Son	Prov Minister / 08



Jacobabad

## Bijaranis

Dynast: Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Mehran Khan Bijarani	Cousin	Senator / 73 MNA / 77, State Minister / 85, MNA / 93, MNA / 88
Sardar Noor M Khan Bijarani	Father	MPA / 70
Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MNA / 97, Senator / 88, MNA / 02, Caretaker Fed Minister, Fed Minister / 90, Prov Minister / 77, Fed Minister / 08, Caretaker Fed Minister / 93
Sardar Sher Muhammad Khan Bijarani	Brother	MPA / 85, MPA / 97, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bijarani	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Sukkur

## Bozdars

Dynast: Ghulam Mustafa Bozdar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Mustafa Bozdar	Himself	MPA / 93
Rai Naz Bozdar	Daughter-in-law	MPA / 08



Larkana

## Bughios

Dynast: M Elahi Bakhsh Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Wahid Bakhsh Khan Bughio	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Nazir Ahmad Bughio	Son	MPA / 93, MNA / 08
Hizbullah Bughio	Son	MNA / 02



Hyderabad

## Bukharis of Tando Muhammad Khan

Dynast: Syed Muhammad Hassan Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Mohsin Shah Bukhari	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97, MPA / 08
Waheeda Shah	Wife	MPA / 08



Dadu

## Butts of Dadu

Dynast: Munawwar Ali Butt

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Munawwar Ali Butt	Himself	MPA / 93
Fayaz Ahmad Butt	Son	MPA / 08

Thatta

## Chandios

Dynast: M Yousaf Khan Chandio

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Yousaf Khan Chandio	Himself	MNA / 77
M Musa Khan Chandio	Son	MPA / 85



Larkana

## Chandios of Larkana

Dynast: Ahmad Sultan Chandio

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ahmad Sultan Chandio	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 85
Shabbir Ahmad Chandio	Son	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97



Karachi

## Bhuttos

Dynast: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

**Zulfikar Ali Bhutto**

President,  
PM / 70

PM / 77

Himself

**Benazir Bhutto**

PM / 93

Lead Opp-NA / 97

MNA / 97

PM / 88

Lead Opp-NA / 90

Daughter

**Begum Nusrat Bhutto**

MNA / 77

MNA / 97

State Minister / 88

MNA / 90

State Minister / 93

Wife

**President Asif Ali Zardari**

MNA / 90

Caretaker  
Fed Minister,  
Fed Minister / 93

Senator / 97

Son-in-law

**Mir Murtaza Bhutto**

MPA / 93

Son

Bhuttos are often seen as the Kennedys of Pakistan, exuding charisma but beset by tragedy. The most well-known member of the Bhutto tribe in the first half of the 20th century was Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, who served as prime minister in the princely state of Junagarh before Partition.

His son Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became foreign minister in Ayub Khan's regime in the 1960s, before resigning in the aftermath of the 1965 war. He formed his own Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in December 1967, which swept the 1970s polls in West Pakistan. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the president and then the prime minister of Pakistan after the secession of East Pakistan. He was deposed in a military coup in 1977 and hanged in 1979. His wife, Nusrat Bhutto, and his daughter, Benazir Bhutto (in her twenties then) took over the PPP leadership. Both were jailed and then exiled.

Benazir Bhutto came back to Pakistan in 1986. The next year, she married President Asif Ali Zardari. Between 1988 and 1997, she twice became the prime minister and twice the leader of the opposition. Her mother, husband and father-in-law held cabinet posts during her different tenures in power. Her brother, Mir Murtaza Bhutto, who set up his own faction of PPP in the 1990s, also won a Sindh Assembly seat in 1993.

After PPP suffered a massive election defeat in 1997, and she had to face numerous corruption trials, Benazir Bhutto left the country in 1998. She came back in 2007 but was assassinated a few months later in Rawalpindi. The PPP won the most number of seats in the National Assembly in the 2008 election held after her death, helping Asif Zardari become the president of Pakistan. His two sisters, Faryal Talpur and Azra Fazal Pichuho, have also been members of the National Assembly; so has been his brother-in-law Munawwar Ali Talpur. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, the son of Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari, became PPP's chairman at the age of 19.

Death has stalked the children of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Three of them, Benazir Bhutto, Shah Nawaz Bhutto, and Mir Murtaza Bhutto, died of unnatural causes. Their lone surviving sibling, Sanam Bhutto, lives in London and does not participate in politics.



## Nawabshah

**Dahris**

Dynast: Bahadur Khan Dahri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rais Mithal Khan Dahri	Uncle	MPA / 88
Bahadur Khan Dahri	Himself	MPA / 93
Khan M Dahri	Uncle	MPA / 97



## Sukkur

**Dharejos**

Dynast: Jam Saifullah Khan Dharejo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Jam Saifullah Khan Dharejo	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 90, MPA / 97, MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Jam Ikramullah Khan Dharejo	Brother	MPA / 08



## Jacobabad

**Domkis of Jacobabad**

Dynast: Mir Shah Ali Khan Domki

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Shah Ali Khan Domki	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88
Mir Ghalib Hussain Khan Domki	Son	Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 08



## Sukkur / Shikarpur

**Durranis of Garhi Yaseen**

Dynast: Agha Sadaruddin Khan Durrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Agha Sadaruddin Khan Durrani	Himself	Dep Speaker-PA / 70, Speaker-PA / 77
Agha Siraj Khan Durrani	Son	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 08



## Dadu / Nawabshah

**G M Syed's family**

Dynast: G M Syed

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Jalal Mahmud Shah	Grandson	Dep Speaker-PA / 97
Syed Ameer Haldar Shah	Son	MPA / 90
Syed Imdad Muhammad Shah	Son	MPA / 85, MPA / 88



## Karachi

**Gabols**

Dynast: Abdul Sattar Gabol

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Sattar Gabol	Himself	Fed Minister / 70, Fed Minister / 77
Nabeel Ahmad Gabol	Nephew	MPA / 88, Dep Speaker-PA / 93, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08



## Dadu

**Haji Zafar's family**

Dynast: Haji Zafar Ali Leghari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Zafar Ali Leghari	Himself	MPA / 77, Fed Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 93
Imran Zafar Leghari	Son	MPA / 08



## Larkana

**Hakros**

Dynast: Dost Muhammad Khan Hakro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dost M Khan Hakro	Himself	MPA / 70
Ali Hassan Khan Hakro	Son	MPA / 77, MPA / 85



## Tharparkar / Mirpurkhas

**Hayat Talpur's family**

Dynast: Mir Haji Muhammad Hayat Khan Talpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Haji M Hayat Khan Talpur	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97, MPA / 08
Zulfiqar Ali Talpur	Nephew	MPA / 02



## Karachi

**Imran Farooq's family**

Dynast: Imran Farooq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Imran Farooq	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 90
M Farooq Ahmad	Father	MNA / 97

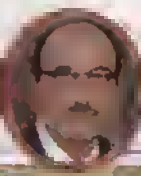


Karachi

## Ishratul Ebad's family

Dynast: Ishratul Ebad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Israrul Ebad Khan	Brother	MNA / 02
Ishratul Ebad	Himself	MPA / 90, Gov / 02



Larkana

## Israns

Dynast: Ghulam Muftaba Khan Isran

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Muftaba Khan Isran	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97
Ghulam Mujadid Isran	Brother	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Jacobabad

## Jakhranis

Dynast: Mir Ahmad Nawaz Jakhrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Arz M Khan Jakhrani	Father-in-law	MPA / 85
Mir Ahmad Nawaz Jakhrani	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 93
Mir Ijaz Hussain Jakhrani	Son	Fed Minister / 02, Fed Minister / 08



Dadu

## Jamalis of Dadu

Dynast: Haji Muhammad Bakhsh Jamali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Bakhsh Jamali	Himself	MPA / 70, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Rafiq Ahmad Jamali	Son	MNA / 02, State Minister / 08



Hyderabad

## Jamots

Dynast: Syed Zulfiqar Ali Shah Jamot

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Imdad Ali Shah Jamot	Nephew	MPA / 70
Syed Zulfiqar Ali Shah Jamot	Himself	Senator / 73, Senator / 85, Senator / 91, Caretaker Fed Minister / 93
Syed Amir Ali Shah Jamot	Nephew	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Syed Shafqat Ali Shah Jamot	Brother	Prov Minister / 88



Karachi

## Jamots of Malir

Dynast: Wali Muhammad Jamot

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Wali M Jamot	Himself	MPA / 70
Shafiq M Jamot	Son	MPA / 77, Caretaker Prov Minister / 90
Abdul Qadir Patel	Son-in-law	MPA / 93, MNA / 08
Mehmood Alam Jamot	Grandson	MPA / 02



Sanghar

## Jams

Dynast: Jam Sadiq Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Jam Sadiq Ali	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, Prov Minister / 77, Caretaker CM, CM / 90
Jam Mashooq Ali	Son	Prov Minister / 88, Fed Minister / 90, Caretaker Fed Minister / 93, MNA / 97
Jam Karam Ali	Brother	Caretaker Prov Minister / 07, Senator / 85
Jam Anwar Ali Khan	Cousin	MPA / 77
Jam Aashiq Ali	Son	MPA / 90



Shikarpur

## Jatois of Shikarpur

Dynast: M Ibrahim Jatoi

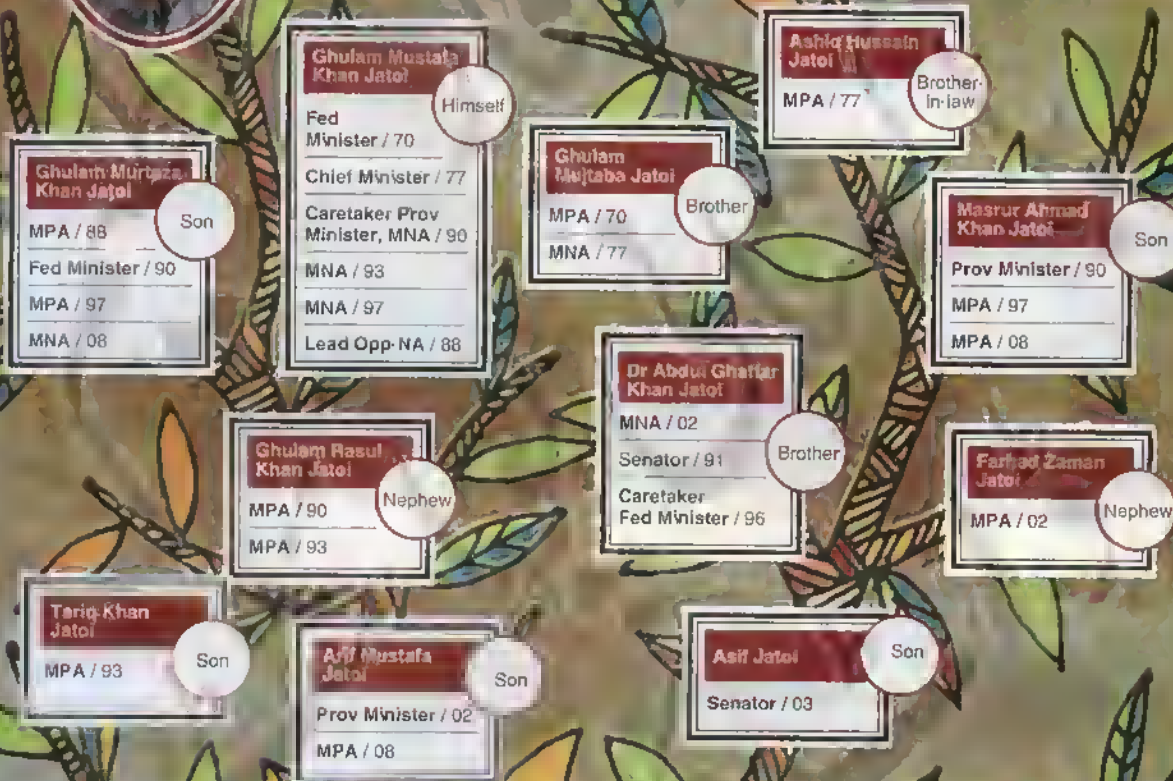
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Ibrahim Jatoi	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97, MNA / 02
Abid Hussain Jatoi	Brother	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Nawabshah

## Jatois of Naushahro Feroz

Dynast: Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi



Jatois own immense tracts of land in Naushahro Feroz, Nawabshah, Dadu and Shikarpur districts. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi was the first member of the tribe to gain electoral eminence as a member of the National Assembly in the 1960s. In 1967, he joined Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), and held important cabinet and government posts including a stint as the chief minister of Sindh in 1973-1977. In the 1980s, Jatoi led the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy in Sindh as provincial head of the party. But then he developed differences with Zulfikar Bhutto who replaced him with Murtaza Bhutto. Before the 1988 election, he set up National Peoples Party (NPP) which was a component of Islamic Jathori Inehad, co-bbled together by the military establishment to stop PPP from coming into power. He was under the head of the alliance, but badly lost in the election from his home constituency, only to return to the National Assembly through a by-election supported by his old friend Ghulam Mustafa Khur.

In 1990, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi became caretaker prime minister but his dream to become an elected premier was shattered when IJI decided to nominate Nawaz Sharif for that position. Since then his sons, brothers and other relatives have become members of different legislative houses but political pre-eminence has eluded them, except for ministerial stints for his son Murtaza Jatoi who heads NPP after the death of his father. The party is now a part of the 10-party anti-PPP electoral alliance.

Another branch of the Jatoi tribe, headed by Abdul Haqueel Jatoi, has an electoral stronghold in Dadu district. After a brief stint with PPP in 1977, he has always been in the forefront of anti-PPP politics in his district as well in Sindh. His son Liaqat Jatoi became the chief minister of Sindh in 1997, besides having served as a federal minister on a number of occasions. The Jatois of Dadu are now running as Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz nominees.



Dadu

## Jatois of Dadu

Dynast: Abdul Hameed Khan Jatoli

Abdul Hameed  
Khan Jatoli

MNA / 70

MNA / 85

MNA / 97

Himself

Liaquat Ali  
Jatoli

MNA / 77

MPA / 85

Prov Minister / 90

CM / 97

Fed Minister / 02

Son

Ahsan Ali  
Jatoli

MPA / 02

Son

Sadaqat Ali  
Jatoli

MPA / 02

Senator / 97

Son



Tharparkar

## Jiffanis of Hyderabad

Dynast: Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah Jilani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah Jilani	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Pir Aftab Hussain Shah Jilani	Son	Prov Minister / 77, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Pir Syed Amjad Hussain Shah Jilani	Son	MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97, MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Sanghar

## Junejos of Sanghar

Dynast: Shah Nawaz Junejo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shah Nawaz Junejo	Himself	Fed Minister / 88, Senator / 96, Senator / 97
M Khan Junejo	Son	MNA / 02
Raushan Din Junejo	Son	MNA / 08

Tharparkar / Sanghar

## Junejos of Sindhri

Dynast: M Khan Junejo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Khan Junejo	Himself	MNA / 90, PM / 78, Caretaker Fed Minister / 78
Kaneez Fizza Junejo	Daughter	MNA / 02, MNA / 08 Senator / 94



Larkana

## Kehars

Dynast: Ghulam Rasul Khan Kehar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Rasul Khan Kehar	Himself	Speaker-PA / 70
Imdad Hussain Kehar	Son	MPA / 77



Tharparkar & Mirpurkhas

## Khadim Ali Shah's family

Dynast: Khadim Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khadim Ali Shah	Himself	MNA / 77
Syed Inayat Ali Shah	Brother	MPA / 93



## Hyderabad

### Qazis of Hyderabad

Dynast: Qazi Abdul Majeed Abid

Qazi Abdul  
Majeed Abid

Fed  
Minister / 85

MNA / 88

Caretaker Prov  
Minister / 79

Himself

Dr Ameena  
Ashraf

MPA / 85

Niece

Qazi M  
Azam

MPA / 77

Brother

Qazi Asad  
Abid

MNA / 93

Son

## Jacobabad

### Khosos (Darya)

Dynast: Mir Darya Khan Khoso

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Darya Khan Khoso	Himself	MNA / 70
Mir Hassan Khan Khoso	Son	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 08

## Jacobabad

### Khosos (Muqem)

Dynast: Sardar M Muqem Khoso

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Muqem Khoso	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 88
Abdul Raheem Khan Khoso	Son	MPA / 08

## Larkana

### Khuhros

Dynast: Ayub Khuhro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shah M Pasha Khuhro	Son	Fed Minister / 85
Masood Ahmad Khuhro	Son	MPA / 85
Rashida Pasha Khuhro	Daughter	MNA / 85
Nisar Ahmad Khuhro	Nephew	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97, MPA / 02, Speaker-PA / 08
Hamida Khuhro	Daughter	Prov Minister / 02

## Sukkur / Ghotki

### Lunds of Sukkur

Dynast: Haji Noor M Khan Lund

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Noor M Khan Lund	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93
Khalid Ahmad Khan Lund	Son	MNA / 93, MNA / 97, State Minister / 02



Sukkur / Shikarpur

## Mahars

Dynast: Ghaus Bakhsh Khan Mahar

**Ghaus Bakhsh  
Khan Mahar**

MPA / 77

Himself

Prov Minister / 85

MPA / 88

Speaker-PA / 93

MNA / 97

Fed Minister / 02

MNA / 08

**M Shaharyar  
Khan Mahar**

Prov  
Minister / 08

Son



Sukkur

## Mahars of Ghotki

Dynast: Sardar Ghulam M Khan Mahar

**Sardar Ghulam M  
Khan Mahar**

MNA / 77

Fed  
Minister / 85

Himself

MNA / 93

Caretaker Prov  
Minister / 79

**Sardar Ali Gohar  
Khan Mahar**

MPA / 93

Nephew

MPA / 97

**Haji Ali Anwar  
Khan Mahar**

MPA / 70

Brother

MPA / 77

MPA / 85

MPA / 90

**Ali Muhammad  
Khan Mahar**

MNA / 93

Nephew

MNA / 97

MNA / 02

CM / 02

MNA / 08

**Ali Nawaz  
Khan Mahar**

MNA / 02

Nephew

Mahars are an influential political tribe in northern Sindh. Ghulam Muhammad Mahar, and his brother and nephew have dominated the politics of Ghotki since the 1970s and Ghaus Bakhsh Mahar and his family have been major players in the politics of Shikarpur.

Generally known to be close to the military establishment, the Mahars have vast landholdings and members of their tribe make up a large part of the population in many constituencies, giving the family an edge in electoral contests here. The Mahars changed many parties since the 1970s, with occasional stints with Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), but their main objective has always been to remain close to where power lies. In 2002, the Mahars of Ghotki refused party tickets and decided to run as independents. They were duly rewarded and Ali Muhammad Mahar, nephew of Ghulam Muhammad Mahar, became the chief minister of the province after the polls. In Shikarpur, Ghaus Bakhsh Mahar joined Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam; he remained federal minister for railways in 2002-2008, and minister for privatisation in 2011-2013.

In the run-up to the 2013 polls, the Mahars of Ghotki have joined PPP, and many family members are running for both the National Assembly and Sindh Assembly. The Mahars of Shikarpur, in the meanwhile, have joined Pakistan Muslim League-Functional, and are running as its candidates for the May 11 polls.





Karachi

**M A Jalil's family**

Dynast: M Abdul Jalil

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Abdul Jalil	Himself	MPA / 90
Nasreen Jalil	Wife	Senator / 94 Senator / 12



Dadu

**Mahesars**

Dynast: Ratiq Ahmad Mahesar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ratiq Ahmad Mahesar	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93
Talal Iqbal Mahesar	Brother	MNA / 08



Dadu

**Maliks of Jamshoro**

Dynast: Malik Asad Sikandar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Sikandar Khan	Father	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Malik Asad Sikandar	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Prov Minister / 97
Nawab Abdul Ghani Talpur	Brother-in-law	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Thatta

**Malkanis (Mamoon)**

Dynast: Mamun Khan Malkani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mamun Khan Malkani	Himself	MPA / 77
Ghulam Qadir Malkani	Son	Adviser / 85, Prov Minister / 90
Haji M Usman Khan	Son	MPA / 02



Thatta

**Malkanis of Thatta**

Dynast: Muhammad Ali Malkani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rasool Bakhsh Khan Malkani	Cousin	MPA / 88
Muhammad Ali Malkani	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97, Fed Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Sanghar

**Marris of Sanghar**

Dynast: Rais Atta Muhammad Khan Marri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rais Atta M Khan Marri	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 85, Dep Speaker-PA / 90
Shazia Marri	Daughter	MPA / 02, MNA / 08, Prov Minister / 08

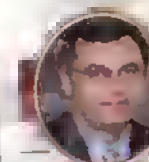


Thar

**Memons of Tharparkar**

Dynast: Haji Ghulam Muhammad Lot

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Gul Muhammad Lot	Son	Senator / 09, Prov Minister / 90
Haji Ghulam Muhammad Lot	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 88



Thatta

**Memons of Thatta**

Dynast: Haji Sadiq Ali Memon

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Sadiq Ali Memon	Himself	MPA / 70
Abdul Hameed Memon	Son	MPA / 77
Abdul Jaleel Memon	Grandson	MPA / 08
Sadiq Ali Memon	Grandson	Prov Minister / 08



Larkana

**Mumtaz Bhutto's family**

Dynast: Mumtaz Ali Bhutto

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mumtaz Ali Khan Bhutto	Himself	Gov, CM / 70, Fed Minister / 77, MPA / 93
Pir Bakhsh Bhutto	Cousin	MPA / 77
Ameer Bakhsh Bhutto	Son	MPS / 97

Karachi

**Munawwar Hasan's family**

Dynast: Syed Munawwar Hasan

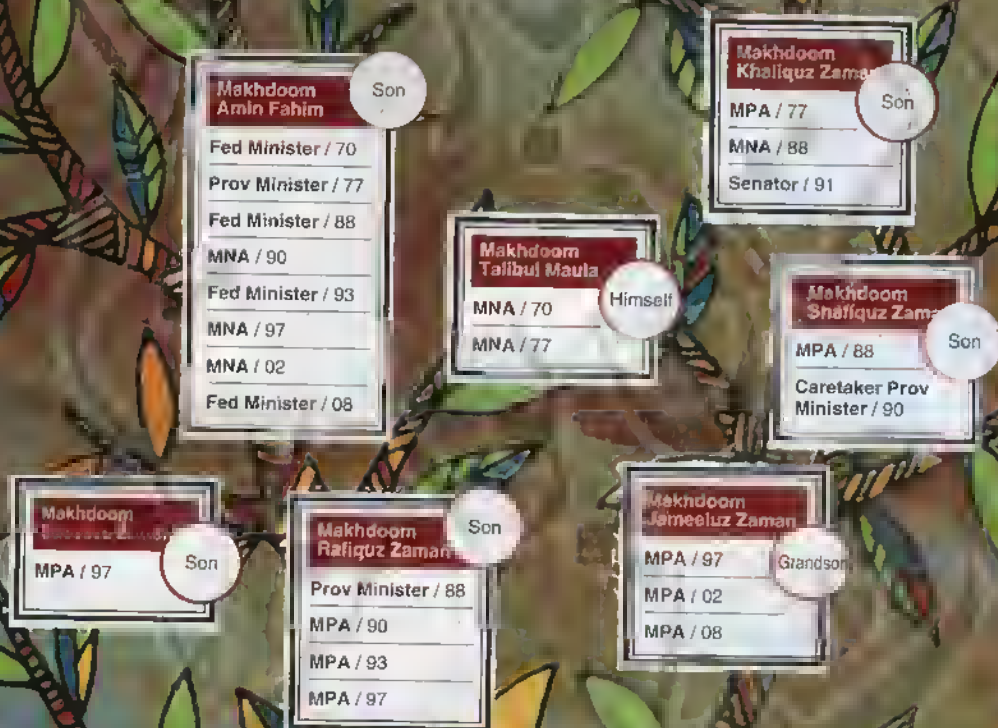
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Munawwar Hasan	Himself	MNA / 77
Aisha Munawwar	Wife	MNA / 02



Thatta / Hyderabad

## Makhdooms of Hala

Dynast: Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman Talibul Maula



Makhdooms, descendants of a sufi saint buried in Hala town, enjoy a massive spiritual following in many parts of Sindh, and have close ties with the senior leadership of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Makhdoom Muhammad Zaman, known as Talibul Maula, was a senior vice-president of the party. So was his son Makhdoom Amin Fahim, until he became the head of Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarian, an entity created in 2002 to avoid legal hurdles in contesting elections. His other son, Makhdoom Khaliquz Zaman, replaced Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as the Sindh PPP chief when Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan from exile in 1986. Later, he developed differences with the party leadership and became a senator on a non-PPP ticket.

Despite occasional differences with the PPP leadership, the Makhdooms of Hala have mostly remained loyal to the Bhuttos, and now to President Asif Zardari. Unlike Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, who hobbled with the military government in the 1980s even when he was PPP's Sindh chief, Amin Fahim remarkably held the party together against serious odds in the late 1990s and early 2000s when Benazir Bhutto was in exile and Asif Zardari was in jail. It was under his stewardship that the party won the highest percentage of votes in the 2002 elections.

After the 2008 election victory, Amin Fahim was one of the leading aspirants for the post of prime minister but was spurned at the last moment in favour of Yousuf Raza Gilani. Despite occasional grumblings, however, he has generally stuck to the party line. He is also facing a corruption trial involving the National Insurance Corporation Limited which he oversaw as a minister in 2008-2013. For the May 11 election, three members of the Makhdoom family are in the run for the national and provincial polls as PPP nominees.





Nawabshah

**Murad Ali Shah's family**

Dynast: Syed Murad Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Noor M Shah	Father	MPA / 70
Syed Murad Ali Shah	Himself	MPA / 70, Prov Minister / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, MPA / 02
Syed Asghar Ali Shah	Uncle	MNA / 85, Prov Minister / 90, Fed Minister / 97
Syed Noor M Shah	Son	MPA / 02



Karachi

**N D Khan's family**

Dynast: Professor Nabi Dad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shamim N D Khan	Wife	MNA / 88
Professor N D Khan	Himself	Fed Minister / 93
Nargis N D Khan	Wife	Prov Minister / 08



Hyderabad

**Nawabs of Hyderabad**

Dynast: Nawab Muzaffar Hussain Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawab Muzaffar Hussain Khan	Himself	MPA / 70
Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 85, MPA / 90



Nawabshah

**Nazar Shah's family**

Dynast: Syed Nazar Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Nazar Shah	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Syed Shaukat Hussain Shah	Son	MPA / 85, MPA / 93, MNA / 97

**Nisar Memon's family**

Dynast: M Khan Junejo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nisar Memon	Himself	Senator / 03
Marvi Memon	Daughter	MNA / 08



Karachi

**Nishat Malik's family**

Dynast: Dr Nishat Malik

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Nishat Malik	Himself	MNA / 97
Shirala Malik	Wife	Senator / 09

Badin

**Nizamans of Badin**

Dynast: Haji Ghulam Haidar Nizamani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Ghulam Haidar Nizamani	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88
Haji Abdul Ghattoor Nizamani	Nephew	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97



Thatta

**Palijs**

Dynast: Ghulam Qadir Palijo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Qadir Palijo	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Sassi Palijo	Daughter	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Badin

**Pappu Shah's family**

Dynast: Pappu Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ail Bakhsh Shah alias Pappu Shah	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 02
Bibi Yasmeen Shah	Wife	Senator / 03



Sukkur / Shikarpur

**Pathans of Shikarpur**

Dynast: Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan	Himself	MNA / 77, Senator / 73
Agha Tariq Khan Pathan	Son	Fed Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 02
Agha Taimur Khan Pathan	Grandson	Prov Minister / 08



Khairpur

## Pagaras

Dynast: Pir Shah Ali Mardan Shah Rashidi



Pagaras, with one of the largest spiritual followings in the country, rose to political eminence with a revolt led by the then Pir Pagara Sibghatullah Shah Rashidi against the British Raj. Thousands of his followers, known as 'hurs', participated in the armed resistance to the colonial rule; many of them were imprisoned and killed. Rashidi himself was killed by the British who took under their care his young son, Ali Mardan Shah.

Ali Mardan Shah used 'hurs' in the 1970s and 1980s to take on Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Under Ziaul Haq's regime, his power and influence increased so much that he became the veritable kingmaker. After partyless election in 1985, one of his followers, Muhammad Khan Junejo, became the prime minister with his blessings. The biggest political shock of his life, however, came in 1988, when an unknown PPP activist defeated him in his home constituency. He never took part in elections after that, though he remained a power broker until his death in 2012.

Pir Pagara's family is closely related to some of the very prominent families in Pakistan. Agha Siraj Durrani, the outgoing Sindh minister, is his son-in-law. His wife's sister was the mother of former prime minister Yousuf Raza Gilani, and her brother, Makhdoomzada Hasnain Mahumud, and nephew Makhdoom Ahmad Mahumud, are the members of an important political dynasty in south Punjab. The latter is now the governor of Punjab. Also, Yousuf Raza Gilani's son is married to Pir Pagara's granddaughter.

After Ali Mardan Shah, his son Sibghatullah Shah has inherited both his father's spiritual seat and his political party, Pakistan Muslim League-Functionary. He has been instrumental in putting together a 10-party anti-PPP alliance for the May 11 election in Sindh.



## Badin

### Pir Ali Bahadur's family

Dynast: Pir Ali Bahadur Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Ali Bahadur Shah	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Pir Amjad Ali	Nephew	MPA / 02



## Khairpur

### Pir of Ranipur

Dynast: Pir Syed Abdul Qadir Shah Jilani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Syed Abdul Qadir Shah Jilani	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 88, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93
Syed Ali Taqi Shah Jilani	Son	MPA / 88
Pir Syed Fazl Ali Shah Jilani	Son	MNA / 97, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Pir Syed Ahmad Raza Shah Jilani	Son	MPA / 08

## Khairpur

### Pirs of Gambat

Dynast: Pir Haji Gul Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Haji Gul Shah	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Pir Asadullah Shah	Son-in-law	MPA / 77



## Dadu

### Pirs of Sehwan

Dynast: Pir Mazharul Haq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Mazharul Haq	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97, Fed Minister / 08
Marvi Mazhar	Daughter	MPA / 02
Farzana Raja	Sister-in-law	MPA / 02, MNA / 08

## Karachi

### Pirzadas

Dynast: Abdul Hafeez Pirzada

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Hafeez Pirzada	Himself	Fed Minister / 70, Fed Minister / 77
Abdul Mujib Pirzada	Brother	MPA / 77, MNA / 02
Abdul Halim Pirzada	Brother	MPA / 90



## Badin / Hyderabad

### Qamaruz Zaman Shah's family

Dynast: Qamaruz Zaman Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qamaruz Zaman Shah	Himself	MPA / 77, Senator / 73, Senator / 75
Syed Naveed Qamar Zaman Shah	Son	Prov Minister / 88, MNA / 90, Fed Minister / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08



## Sanghar

### Qazis of Sanghar

Dynast: Qazi Faiz Muhammad Rajar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qazi Faiz M Rajar	Himself	MPA / 90
Qazi Abdul Quddus Rajar	Brother	MNA / 02
Qazi Shamsuddin Rajar	Son	MPA / 08



## Dadu

### Rais Allan Khan's family

Dynast: Rais Allan Khan Leghari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rais Allan Khan Leghari	Himself	MNA / 77
Dr Manzoor Hussain Leghari	Son	MPA / 02
Dr Sajeela Leghari	Daughter-in-law	MPA / 08



**Sanghar**

## Rajars of Sanghar

**Dynast: Haji Khuda Bakhsh Rajar**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Khuda Bakhsh Rajar	Himself	MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 08
Ghulam Dastagir Rajar	Cousin	MNA / 08



**Badin / Hyderabad**

## Sariwals of Badin

**Dynast: Haji Najmuddin Khan Sariwal**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Najmuddin Khan Sariwal	Himself	Fed Minister / 77
Abdul Sattar Sariwal	Nephew	MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Bashir Ahmad Khan Leghari	Son	MPA / 08
Abdul Sattar Leghari	Nephew	MPA / 90



**Nawabshah**

## Shabir Shah's family

**Dynast: Syed Shabir Ahmad Shah**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Shabbir Ahmad Shah	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Syed Bashir Ahmad Shah	Brother	MNA / 85, MPA / 90
Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



**Jacobabad**

## Shahlianis

**Dynast: Mir Ghulam Muhammad Shahliani**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Ghulam Muhammad Shahliani	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 08, Senator / 77
Mir Gauhar Ali Shahliani	Son	MPA / 93
Saira Shahliani	Daughter	MPA / 02
Mir Shah Nawaz Shahliani	Father	MPA / 70, MPA / 77



**Khairpur**

## Shahs of Khairpur

**Dynast: Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jilani**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Qaim Ali Shah Jilani	Himself	Fed Minister / 70, MNA / 77, MPA / 02, Chief Minister / 08, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, CM / 88, Senator / 97
Syed Parvez Ali Shah Jilani	Nephew	Fed Minister / 88, MNA / 90, Prov Minister / 93
Syed Javed Ali Shah	Nephew	MNA / 02
Nafisa Shah	Daughter	MNA / 08



**Jacobabad / Shikarpur**

## Sheikhs of Shikarpur

**Dynast: Imtiaz Ahmad Sheikh**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Imtiaz Ahmad Sheikh	Himself	Adviser / 02
Maqbut Ahmad Sheikh	Brother	MPA / 97



**Sukkur**

## Sheikhs of Sukkur

**Dynast: Islamuddin Sheikh**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Islamuddin Sheikh	Himself	MNA / 85, Senator / 89, Senator / 97, Senator / 09
Nauman Islam Sheikh	Son	MNA / 08



**Thatta**

## Shirazis of Thatta

**Dynast: Syed Ejaz Ali Shah**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ejaz Ali Shah	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Syed Shafiqat Hussain Shah Shirazi	Brother	MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Senator / 88
Syed Ayaz Ali Shah Shirazi	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Syed Manzoor Hussain Shah Shirazi	Nephew	MPA / 02
Syed Karim Dino Shah Shirazi	Son-in-law	MPA / 02
Shah Hussain Shah Shirazi	Nephew	MPA / 08





Dadu

## Shoros

Dynast: Haji M Siddiq Shoro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Siddiq Shoro	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Ghulam Nabi Shoro	Son	MPA / 02
Dr Sikandar Ali Shoro	Grandson	MPA / 08



Sukkur / Shikarpur

## Soomros (Maula Bakhsh)

Dynast: Maula Bakhsh Soomro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Maula Bakhsh Soomro	Himself	MNA / 70
Elahi Bakhsh Soomro	Son	Fed Minister / 85, Fed Minister / 90, Speaker-NA / 97
Ittikhar Ahmad Soomro	Son	Prov Minister / 85
M Mian Soomro	Grandson	Chairman Senate / 03, Caretaker Prov Minister / 03
Ahmad Mian Soomro	Son	Senator / 85



Sukkur

## Soomros (Rahim)

Dynast: Rahim Bakhsh Soomro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rahim Bakhsh Soomro	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MNA / 85
Junaid Ahmad Soomro	Nephew	MPA / 85
Abdul Hafeez Shaikh	Nephew	Senator, Fed Minister / 03, Senator, Fed Minister / 09



Thatta

## Soomros of Thatta

Dynast: Muhammad Khan Soomro

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Khan Soomro	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77
Dr Abdul Wahid Soomro	Son	Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97, MNA / 08



Jacobabad

## Sundranis

Dynast: Mir Sundar Khan Sundrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Sundar Khan Sundrani	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Mir Hakim Ali Khan Sundrani	Brother	MPA / 88
Mir Ghulam Abid Khan Sundrani	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Hyderabad

## Syeds of Matari

Dynast: Pir Syed Noor Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Syed Noor Shah	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Pir Syed Amir Ali Shah	Son	MPA / 08



Hyderabad

## Talpurs of Hyderabad

Dynast: Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur	Himself	MNA / 70, Caretaker Fed Minister / 78
Rasul Bakhsh Khan Talpur	Brother	Gov / 70, Caretaker Prov Minister / 78
Mir Halidar Ali Khan Talpur	Son	MPA / 85

Tharparkar

## Talpurs of Mirpurkhas

Dynast: Mir Imam Bakhsh Khan Talpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Imam Bakhsh Khan Talpur	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77
Mir Lutfullah Khan Talpur	Son	MPA / 85



Tharparkar

## Talpurs of Tharparkar

Dynast: Mir Ijaz Ali Khan Talpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Ijaz Ali Khan Talpur	Himself	Fed Minister / 70, MNA / 77, Prov Minister / 85, Caretaker Prov Minister / 88
Mir Mumtaz Ali Khan Talpur	Brother	MPA / 70, Prov Minister / 77
Mir Inayat Ali Talpur	Son	MNA / 85
Mir Ali Nawaz Talpur	Nephew	MPA / 02



## Tharparkar

### Talpurs of Tharparkar

Dynast: Mir Munawwar Ali Talpur

**Mir Munawwar  
Ali Khan Talpur**

Himself

MPA / 85

Prov Minister / 88

MPA / 90,

MPA / 93

MPA / 97

MNA / 08

**Faryal Talpur**

MNA / 08

Wife

**Mir Ali Bakhsh  
Khan Talpur**

MNA / 70

Father

Talpurs are the descendants of the Talpur rulers of Sindh. Many branches of the clan have been prominent in Pakistan's politics but none so much as Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur and his brother Rasool Bakhsh Talpur who were well-known politicians from Sindh in the 1960s-1980s. The former was one of the main supporters of Faizullah Jinnah in the 1965 presidential election and a founding member of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). The latter, a leftist, nationalist leader, became the governor of Sindh in 1973. But they quit PPP in 1975; Mir Ali Ahmad Talpur later joined Ziaul Haq's military government as defence minister. This spelled the demise of his family's electoral fortunes.

The second major Talpur family traces its lineage back to the last ruler of Sindh, Sher Muhammad Talpur. Its latest claim to fame is that its head, Mir Munawwar Ali Talpur, is married to Faryal Talpur, the sister of President Asif Zardari.

The third Talpur clan of political importance lives in Umarkot district. Its head, Yousuf Talpur, his brother Ghani Talpur, and son Shalryur Talpur, have represented PPP in the National Assembly as well as Sindh Assembly. Ghani Talpur is married to the daughter of Malik Sikandar in Jamshoro district, and became a member of the National Assembly from his in-laws' home constituency in 2008. For the 2013 polls, most of the politically prominent Talpurs are contesting on PPP tickets.



## Tharparkar

### Talpurs of Umarkot

Dynast: Nawab M Yousaf Khan Talpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawab M Yousaf Khan Talpur	Himself	MPA / 77, Fed Minister / 93, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
M Talmur Talpur	Son	MPA / 08



## Sanghar

### Thaheems

Dynast: Abdul Salam Thaheem

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Salam Thaheem	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 08
Syed M Bachal Shah	Son-in-law	MPA / 08
Shahid Khan Thaheem	Son	MPA / 08



## Larkana

### Unars

Dynast: Haji Ghulam Hussain Khan Unar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Ghulam Hussain Khan Unar	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 88
Altair Hussain Unar	Brother	MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 02



## Khairpur

### Wasan (Manzoor)

Dynast: Manzoor Hussain Wasan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Manzoor Hussain Wasan	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, State Minister / 93, MPA / 97, MNA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Nawab Ali Wasan	Nephew	MPA / 02, MNA / 08





Sanghar

**Wasan (Niaz)**

Dynast: Niaz M Khan Wasan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Haidar Khan Wasan	Cousin	MPA / 77
Niaz M Khan Wasan	Himself	Adviser / 77

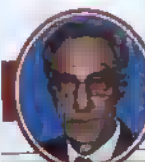


Sanghar

**Wasans of Sanghar**

Dynast: Mir Muhammad Wasan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir M Wasan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Mahli Khan Wasan	Brother	MPA / 02



Nawabshah / Naushahro Feroz

**Zafar Ali Shah's family**

Dynast: Syed Zafar Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Zafar Ali Shah	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, Fed Minister / 85, State Minister / 88, MNA / 90, Dep Speaker-NA / 93, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Munawwar Ali Shah	Brother	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 93
Dr Ahmad Ali Shah	Brother	MPA / 08

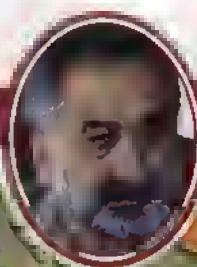


Nawabshah

**Zardaris**

Dynast: Hakim Ali Zardari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Hakim Ali Zardari	Himself	MPA / 70, Fed Minister / 93, Fed Minister / 88
Azra Fazat Pichuho	Daughter	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Badin

**Zulfikar Mirza's family**

Dynast: Dr Zulfikar Mirza

Dr Zulfikar Ali Mirza	Himself	MNA / 93, Prov Minister / 08
Dr Fehmida Mirza	Wife	MNA / 97, MNA / 02, Speaker-NA / 08
Barrister Hasnain Mirza	Son	MPA / 08

*Zulfikar Mirza has travelled a long distance from being a doctor in the military, to an absconder from the law, to an industrialist, to a Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) stalwart, finally becoming the home minister of Sindh in 2008. His father, Zafar Mirza, served as a Supreme Court judge as well as the head of the Federal Public Service Commission. One of the earliest notable members of the family was Mirza Qutub Beg, a prominent man of letters in 19th century Sindh.*

*But Zulfikar Mirza owes his political success to President Asif Zardari, his friend from school days. Since the 1990s, Mirza and his wife, Fehmida Mirza, have been winning from a safe PPP constituency in Badin. In 2011, however, Mirza resigned as the provincial home minister after differences with PPP leadership (read Asif Zardari) over the handling of violence in Lyari in particular, and Karachi in general. He later also resigned from his provincial assembly seat which his son Husnain Mirza won easily in a by-election on a PPP ticket. Fehmida Mirza and Husnain Mirza are both contesting the May 11 elections as the main party's nominees.*

*Fehmida Mirza comes from a well-known Sindh family. Qazi of Hyderabad, who own many Sindh-language newspapers and television stations. Her father, Qazi Abdul Majid Abid, and uncles Qazi Azam and Qazi Akbar have also participated in electoral politics. Qazi Abdul Majid Abid served both as a federal and provincial minister. Outgoing Sindh education minister Pir Muzharul Haq is the son of a first cousin of Dr Fehmida Mirza.*

# BALUCHISTAN



Killa Abdullah

## Achakzai

Dynast: Mehmood Khan Achakzai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehmood Khan Achakzai	Himself	MPA / 73, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 02
Dr Hamid Khan Achakzai	Brother	MNA / 93, MPA / 97
Abdul Hameed Khan Achakzai	Father-in-law	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93
Abdul Majeed Khan Achakzai	Brother-in-law	MPA / 02
Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai	Father	MPA / 70



## Badinis

Dynast: Mir Wali Muhammad Badini

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Wali M Badini	Himself	Senator / 03, Senator / 09
Mir Yousaf Badini	Son	Senator / 12

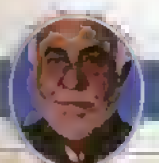


Lasbela

## Bhootanis

Dynast: Sardar M Saleh Bhootani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Saleh Bhootani	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97, Caretaker CM / 07
Muhammad Aslam Bhoolani	Brother	Dep Speaker-PA / 02, Speaker-PA / 08



Khuzdar

## Bizenjos (Aslam)

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Aslam Bizenjo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Muhammad Aslam Bizenjo	Himself	Prov Minister / 90, Prov Minister / 08
M Tahir Bizenjo	Brother	Senator / 97



Khuzdar

## Bizenjo (Majeed)

Dynast: Mir Abdul Majeed Bizenjo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Abdul Majeed Bizenjo	Himself	MPA / 85, Dep Speaker-PA / 88, Dep Speaker-PA / 90, Prov Minister / 93
Abdul Qudus Bizenjo	Son	Prov Minister / 02



Kachhi

## Domki

Dynast: Sardar Mir Chakar Khan Domki

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Mir Chakar Khan Domki	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MNA / 93, MPA / 97
Mir Muhammad Bakhtiar Khan Domki	Son	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08
Mir Nabl Bakhsh Domki	Brother	Senator / 88, Senator / 94
Mir Hazoor Bakhsh Domki	Brother	Senator / 73, Senator / 75



Khuzdar

## Gichkis

Dynast: Mir Qambar Ali Gichki

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Qambar Ali Gichki	Himself	Prov Minister / 08
Muhammad Aslam Gichki	Father	MPA / 97
Mir M Arif Jan M Hassani	Uncle	MNA / 85, MNA / 88



Chagai

## Gul Khan Naseer's family

Dynast: Gul Khan Naseer

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Gul Khan Naseer	Himself	Prov Minister / 70
Muhammad Rahim Mengal	Nephew	Prov Minister / 08



Kalat

## Bizenjos

Dynast: Mir Ghous Bakhsh Khan Bizenjo



Mir Ghous Bakhsh  
Khan Bizenjo  
Gov / 70  
Himself

Mir Bizen  
Bizenjo  
MNA / 90  
Son

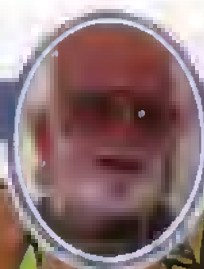
Mir Hasil Khan  
Bizenjo  
MNA / 90  
MNA / 97  
Senator / 09  
Son

Mir Ghous Khan Bizenjo first made his political mark in 1947 when he made an impassioned speech against Kalat's merger with Pakistan. He was a member of the state's parliament then. He remained a staunch Baloch nationalist even when he served as the governor of Balochistan from 1972 to 1973 when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sacked him and sent him to jail, along with other Baloch and Pakhtun nationalist leaders, on charges of treason. They were released after General Ziaul Haq took over power in 1977.

Bizenjo was part of the National Awami Party (NAP) along with Khair Baksh Marri and Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal during the 1970s. Under Zia, when most Baloch nationalist leaders went into exile in Afghanistan and beyond, he stayed in Pakistan and set up Pakistan National Party (PNP) after developing differences with NAP's successor, Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP).

Bizenjo participated in 1988 election but lost. After his death in 1989, his sons, Bizen Bizenjo and Hasil Bizenjo, took over the leadership of the party one after the other. In 1990, both the brothers became members of the National Assembly. In 1996, PNP merged with Balochistan National Party Mengal (BNPM) but in 2002 it re-emerged as National Party (NP). Since then its main leaders, including Hasil Bizenjo, have been the members of senate.

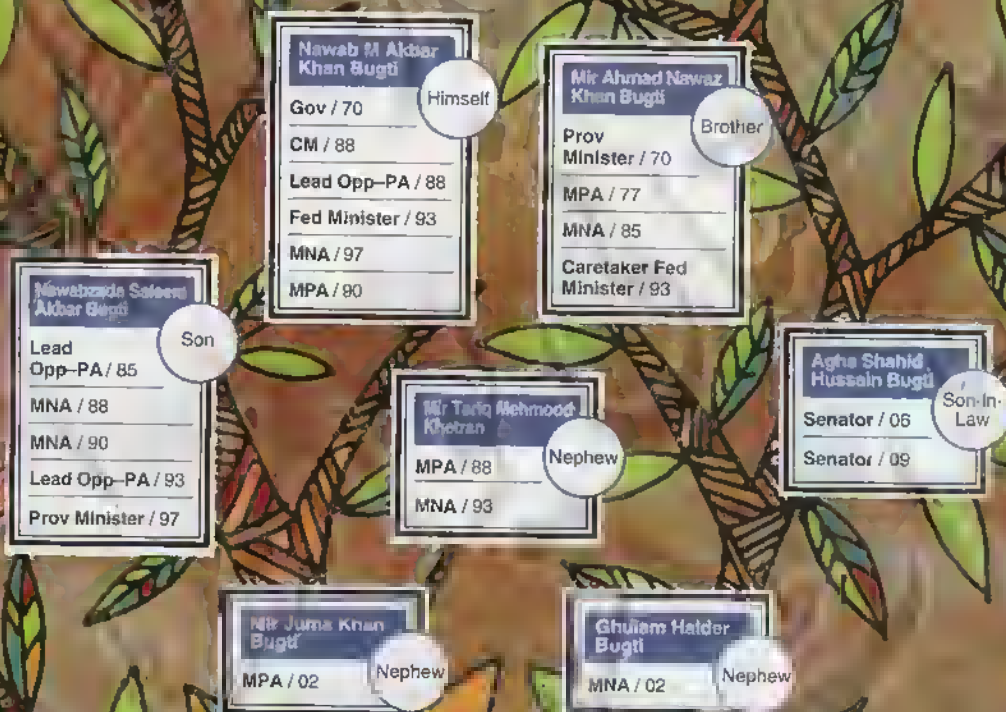
The Bizenjos' struggle for Balochistan's rights is as old as independent Pakistan. While they have not formed any militia to fight for this cause, like the Marris, Mengals and Bugtis have, they have continued using political and parliamentary platforms to raise their voice for the realisation of the Baloch people's rights.



Dera Bugti

## Bugtis

Dynast: Nawab M Akbar Khan Bugti



A young Akbar Bugti was once photographed shaking hands with Jimmah. Since 2006, however, he has become a symbol of Baloch separatism. This transformation owes to his death during a military operation in 2006 which sparked the latest round of an armed separatist movement in Balochistan.

Bugtis live in an area rich in oil and natural gas and Akbar Bugti, as the head of the tribe, has had a lot of leverage in dealing with the federal government because of this. His family also gets 120 million rupees in annual royalties for the extraction of gas and oil from the area which increases its political power. Its electoral strongholds stretch from Dera Bugti in the north of Balochistan to Kohlu, Kechi and Naseerabad in the south.

Akbar Bugti has been both the chief minister and the governor of Balochistan in different decades. He has also served as a federal minister. He and other members of his family have been part of many legislative houses since the 1970s.

In 1990, Akbar Bugti founded his own Janhoori Watan Party (JWP) which advocates provincial autonomy and greater representation of the Baloch in all federal institutions amongst other things. Since then, the Bugtis have mostly run in elections on JWP tickets, except in 1993 when Akbar Bugti's nephew won as an independent candidate and his son as a member of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN). One of Bugti's grandsons, Brahanudagh Bugti, now heads the Baloch separatist group, Balochistan Republican Party.

Akbar Bugti's JWP, which boycotted the 2008 election in protest against his death, has split into factions since then. One faction, headed by his son, Talal Bugti, is now taking part in the May election.





Quetta

**Hashmis of Quetta**

Dynast: Saeed Ahmad Hashmi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Saeed Ahmad Hashmi	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 97, Senator / 03, Senator / 06
Dr Ruqayya Saeed Hashmi	Sister	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Kharan

**Hassanis**

Dynast: Mir Dost M M Hassani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Dost M M Hassani	Himself	MPA / 88
Mir Habib ur Rehman M Hassani	Son	Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Jaffarabad

**Jamalis (Rustam)**

Dynast: Rustam Khan Jamali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rustam Khan Jamali	Himself	Prov Minister / 08
Mir Nasir Khan Jamali	Brother	Prov Minister / 08



Zhob

**Jogezais (Zhob)**

Dynast: Nawabzada Taimoor Shah Jogezi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawabzada Taimoor Shah Jogezi	Himself	MPA / 77, Prov Minister / 85
Nawab M Ayyaz Khan Jogezi	Nephew	MNA / 93, Senator / 03
Nawabzada Jahangir Shah Jogezi	Brother	Senator / 85



Pishin

**Kakars**

Dynast: M Sarwar Khan Kakar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Sarwar Khan Kakar	Himself	MPA / 77, Speaker-PA / 85, MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 90, Fed Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 97, Senator / 08
Aslanyar Kakar	Brother	Prov Minister / 08



Gwadar

**Kalmatis**

Dynast: Mir Abdul Ghafoor Kalmati

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Abdul Ghafoor Kalmati	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 97
Mir Hamza Kalmati	Son	Prov Minister / 08



Quetta

**Khans of Quetta**

Dynast: Shafiq Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shafiq Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Tahir Mahmood Khan	Brother	Prov Minister / 08



Loralai

**Khetran**

Dynast: Mir Ahmad Shah Khetran

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Ahmad Shah Khetran	Himself	MPA / 85
Sardar M Anwar Jan Khetran	Brother	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Nasreen Rehman	Daughter-in-law	Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Sardar Abdul Rahman Khetran	Son	Prov Minister / 97



Lasbela

## Jam of Lasbela

Dynast: Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan

<b>Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan</b>	Himself
CM / 70	
Speaker-PA / 77	
CM / 85	

<b>Fazila Aliani</b>	Daughter-in-law
Prov Minister / 70	
MPA / 77	
MPA / 85	

<b>Jam Mir Muhammad Yousaf</b>	Son
MNA / 85	
MPA / 88	
Fed Minister / 90	
Prov Minister / 93	
MNA / 97	
CM / 02	
Fed Minister / 08	

<b>Shahzade Ali Akbar</b>	Son
MPA / 90	
MPA / 97	

In 1947, Jam Ghulam Qadir was the ruler of the princely state of Lasbela and he announced that his state would join Pakistan. Since then, Lasbela has always been a pro-Pakistan area. His royal status in the region is revered and his family fares well in every electoral contest.

Apart from Jam Ghulam Qadir, who has twice served as Balochistan's chief minister and once as the speaker of the Balochistan Assembly, his son, Jam Muhammad Yousaf, was also active politically until his death in February 2013. He has been the federal minister for water and power, federal minister for privatisation as well as the chief minister for Balochistan.

Jams of Lasbela are closely related to Khan of Kalat's family: Jam Muhammad Yousaf is the son in law of the late Khan of Kalat, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, whose son, Prince Mohyuddin, is the son-in-law of Jam Ghulam Qadir. Fazila Aliani, the daughter of Jam Ghulam Qadir's first cousin Nawrullah, has been elected to Balochistan Assembly three times and has twice served as the provincial minister for education. Married into the Kundi family of Deru Ismail Khan, she is the first woman to have become a member of the Balochistan Assembly in 1972.

The Jams of Lasbela have changed their political affiliation from Pakistan People's Party to Ishmi Janhooori Ittihad to Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz to Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid over the last four decades. But in the 2013 election, the latest head of the family, Jam Kunal Khan, is running as an independent on the sole National Assembly seat in the Lasbela district as well as Provincial Assembly constituencies falling in the area.



Nasirabad

## Jamalis (Taj M Khan)

Dynast: Taj M Khan Jamali



Taj M Khan Jamali	
Fed Minister/ 70	Himself
Fed Minister/ 77	
CM / 90	
MNA / 08	

Mir Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali	
MPA / 88	Cousin
Prov Minister/ 90	
CM / 97	
MPA / 02	
Dep Ch-Sen / 06	
Senator / 09	

Changez Jamali	
MNA / 08	Son

Nasirabad

## Jamalis (Zafarullah Khan)

Dynast: Zafarullah Khan Jamali



Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali	
Prov Minister / 77	Himself
Caretaker Fed Minister; Fed Minister / 85	
Caretaker CM / 88	
MNA; Caretaker CM / 93	
Senator / 97	
PM / 02	

Mir Abdul Nabi Jamali	
Senator / 73	Cousin
MNA / 77	
Prov Minister / 85	
Prov Minister / 93	

Abdul Rahman Jamali	
Senator / 85	Brother
Senator / 88	
Prov Minister / 02	

Mir Faridullah Khan Jamali	
MNA / 97	Son

Brothers Mir Shah Nawaz Jamali and Mir Jaffar Jamali were passionate supporters of the Pakistan movement. Their sons — Zafarullah Jamali and Taj Jamali respectively — inherited these political leanings and became involved in Pakistani politics. Jamali tribe hails from Dera Murad Jamali, a town in Nasirabad district which is Jamali family's political stronghold.

Jamalis have held important positions in many governments, including those headed by the military. Both Taj Jamali and Zafarullah Jamali have been chief ministers of Balochistan, as was their close relative, Jan Muhammad Jamali, who also served as the Senate's deputy chairman until recently. Many other members of their immediate family have been in different Provincial and National assemblies. In 2002, Zafarullah Jamali became the first Balochistan-born prime minister of Pakistan.

Jamalis were members of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) during the Bhutto years. Since then, they have contested elections either as independents or as part of Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (in the 1990s) and Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (in 2002). In 2008 election, they changed their political affiliation to PPP again.

In the upcoming election, the Jamalis are contesting from different parties — Zafarullah Jamali and his sons are contesting as Pakistan Muslim League-Functional candidates while Jan Muhammad Jamali is contesting as a Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz candidate.

## Loralai

### Lunis

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Hashim

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Hashim Khan Luni	Himself	Senator / 85, Senator / 88
Hidayatullah Luni	Son	Senator / 93



## Loralai

### Lunis (Muhammad Tahir)

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Tahir Luni

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Tahir Luni	Himself	MPA / 90
Sardar Masood Ali Khan Luni	Son	Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08



## Quetta

### Maliks of Quetta

Dynast: Gul Hassan Malik

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Gul Hassan	Himself	MPA / 77,
Malik Gul Zaman	Brother	MPA / 85, MNA / 93



## Zhob

### Mandokhel

Dynast: Sheikh Jaffer Khan Mandokhel

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sheikh Jaffer Khan Mandokhel	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Muhammad Humayun Khan Mandokhel	Brother	Senator / 09
Ayaz Khan Mandokhel	Cousin	Senator / 03
Saeedul Hassan Mandokhel	Cousin	Senator / 12
Sheikh Zareef Khan Mandokhel	Uncle	Senator / 91, Senator / 97
Subedar Khan Mandokhel	Uncle	Senator / 88, Senator / 94



## Zhob

### Maulvis of Zhob

Dynast: Maulvi Abdul Haq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulvi Abdul Haq	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 85
Abdul Razaq Bashardost	Son	MPA / 08
Abdul Khaliq Bashardost	Son	Prov Minister / 08



## Ziarat

### Maulvis of Ziarat

Dynast: Maulvi Jan Muhammad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulvi Jan Muhammad	Himself	MPA / 88
Maulvi Abdul Samad Akundzada	Son	Prov Minister / 08



## Kharan

### Noshervanis

Dynast: Mir Abdul Karim Noshervani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Abdul Karim Noshervani	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 97, Prov Minister / 90
Mir Shoaib Khan Noshervani	Son	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08



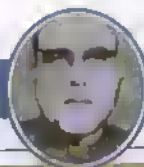
## Chaghai

### Notezai

Dynast: Haji Sakhi Dost M Notezai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Sakhi Dost M Notezai	Himself	MNA / 93
Mir Amanullah Notezai	Son	Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Haji Malik Eid M Notezai	Cousin	MPA / 85, MPA / 88
Haji Ali M Notezai	Cousin	MPA / 90, MPA / 97





Kalat

**Prince Abdul Karim's family**

Dynast: Prince Agha Abdul Karim

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Prince Agha Abdul Karim	Himself	MPA / 70
Agha Irfan Karim	Son	Prov Minister / 08
Rubina Irfan	Daughter-in-law	MPA-W / 02, Prov Minister / 08 Senator / 12
Mir Yousaf Ali Khan Magsi	Son-in-law	MPA / 70, Senator / 85
Rehana Yahya Baloch	Daughter	Senator / 06



Kalat

**Prince Mohyuddin's family**

Dynast: Prince Mohyuddin Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Prince Mohyuddin Baloch	Himself	MNA / 77, Fed Minister / 85
Pir Abdul Qadir Gillani	Nephew	MNA / 02, MPA / 08
Prince Yahya Jan Baloch	Brother	MPA / 85, MPA / 97
Prince Moosa Jan Baloch	Brother	Prov Minister / 97
Prince Faisal Dawood Ahmedzal	Nephew	MPA / 02
M Arif Hassani	Cousin	MNA / 85, MNA / 88

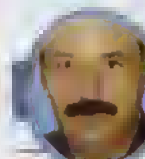


Kech

**Syed Ehsan Shah's family**

Dynast: Syed Ehsan Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ehsan Shah	Himself	Senator / 91, Senator / 94, MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Naseema Ehsan	Wife	Senator / 12



Loralai

**Tareens of Loralai**

Dynast: Mir Haji Tareen

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Haji Tareen	Himself	Fed Minister / 85
Sardar M Israr Tareen	Son	MNA / 08



Pishin

**Tareens of Pishin**

Dynast: Sardar Khair M Khan Tareen

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Khair M Khan Tareen	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 85
Sardar Bashir Ahmad Khan Tareen	Brother	MPA / 88
Sardar Ghulam Mustala Khan Tareen	Son	MPA / 97



Tamboo

**Umrani**

Dynast: Mir Muhammad Sadiq Umrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Muhammad Sadiq Umrani	Himself	MPA / 86, MNA / 93 Prov Minister / 08
Mir Muhammad Amin Umrani	Brother	Prov Minister / 88

Quetta

**Zehri's**

Dynast: Mir Nabi Bakhsh Zehri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Atti Ali Sanjarani	Grandson	MNA / 97
Mir Nabi Bakhsh Zehri	Himself	Senator / 73, Senator / 85



Khuzdar

**Zehri's of Jhalawan**

Dynast: Haji Mir Doda Khan Zarakzai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Mir Doda Khan Zarakzai	Himself	MPA / 77
Sardar Sanaulah Khan Zehri	Son	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Mir Israrullah Khan Zehri	Son	Prov Minister / 90, Prov Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 97, Senator / 06, Senator / 12
Mir Zafarullah Khan Zehri	Son	Prov Minister / 08
Agha Abdul Zahir Ahmedzal	Brother-in-law	Dep Speaker-PA / 85, Caretaker Prov Minister / 02



Kachhi/Jhal Magsi

## Magsis

Dynast: Mir Zulfiqar Ali Khan Magsi

Mir Zulfiqar Ali Khan Magsi	
MPA / 85	Himself
MPA / 88	
MPA / 90	
CM / 93	
MPA / 97	
Gov / 08	

Shama Parveen Magsi	
Prov Minister / 02	Wife
Prov Minister / 08	

Nawabzada Tariq Magsi	
MPA / 77	Brother
State Minister / 88	
Senator / 91	
MPA / 02	
Lead Opp-PA / 08	

Mir Nadir Ali Khan Magsi	
NA / 85	Brother
PS / 88	
PS / 90	
Prov Minister / 93	
MPA / 97	
Prov Minister / 08	

Nawabzada Saifullah Magsi	
Senator / 12	Son

Mir Amir Ali Khan Magsi	
Senator / 91	Brother
MNA / 08	

Nawabzada Akbar Magsi	
Senator / 09	Brother

With origins in the Jhal Magsi area of Balochistan, Magsis are now politically active not just in their native province but also in Sindh.

Zulfiqar Ali Magsi, the head of the Magsi family – whose father, Mir Saif Ali Magsi was murdered in 1969 – has been the chief minister of Balochistan and is now governor of the province. He first ran in a Provincial Assembly election in 1985 and has continued to win as an independent since then. His brother, Nawabzada Tariq Magsi, has been in the electoral arena since 1977 when he first won a Provincial Assembly seat. Two of his brothers – Amir Magsi and Nadir Magsi – have won a number of elections in Sindh's Larkana district. Another brother, Akbar Magsi, has been a senator since 2009.

Zulfiqar Ali Magsi's wife Shama Parveen Magsi, is the niece of Khan of Kalat Mir Ahmed Yar Khan. She became a member of the Balochistan Assembly on a reserved seat both in 2002 and 2008.

Magsis have always supported Pakistan. They blame 'foreign hands' for exacerbating the Balochistan crisis and are appreciative of the federal government's development efforts in the province.

They mostly contest elections as independents but in 2002 and 2008 they ran on Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam (PMLQ) tickets. In 2012, Zulfiqar Ali Magsi's son, Saifullah Magsi, became a senator on a Pakistan People's Party nomination.





Kohlu

## Marris

Dynast: Sardar Khair Baksh Khan Marri

Mir Qaiser Khan Marri  
MPA / 77  
Brother

Sardar Khair Baksh Khan Marri  
MPA / 70  
Himself

Mir Hamayun Khan Marri  
Prov Minister / 85  
MPA / 88  
Caretaker CM;  
MPA / 90  
Dep Ch-Sen / 97  
Nephew

Nawabzada Mir Balach Marri  
MPA / 02  
Son

Nawabzadar Haqdar Marri  
Prov Minister / 97  
Son

Nawabzada Jangzeb Khan Marri  
Prov Minister / 93  
Son

Sardar Gazi Khan Marri  
Prov Minister / 93  
Son



Kohlu

## Marris (Bijarani)

Dynast: Justice Khuda Bakhsh Marri

Mir Shah Nawaz Khan Marri  
Prov Minister / 08  
Son

Mir Mohabat Khan Marri  
Senator / 06  
Brother

Khair Baksh Marri, chief of the Marri tribe, was born in Kohlu, 450 kilometres north-west of Quetta. He enjoys great influence in the area due to his tribal stature as well as his fight for an independent Balochistan. Even while residing in Karachi since 2002, he continues to inspire the latest generation of Baloch militants.

Khair Baksh Marri first became actively involved in politics in 1950 and has always been an unrelenting champion of the rights of the Baloch. The only election he took part in was in 1970 but he resigned from the assembly in protest against the sacking of the provincial government of National Awami Party (NAP). In 1973, he was arrested and jailed on treason charges. After his release in 1977, he left for Afghanistan and then on to Russia and came back to Pakistan only in the 1990s.

While Khair Baksh Marri was away, his brother and nephew were elected from their home constituency in Kohlu. Upon his return from abroad, all four of his sons became active in politics. In the 2002 election, two of them, Habib Marri and Balach Marri, were elected to the Provincial Assembly. Both, however, resigned and later organised a militant group, Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA). The latter was killed in Afghanistan in 2007.

Marris have mostly won elections as independents. Their affiliation with political parties has been short-lived as with NAP in 1970 and Jamhoori Watan Party in 1990. One of Khair Baksh Marri's sons, Gazi Marri, is said to be close to President Asif Ali Zardari, while another, Chaghe Marri, is contesting the May 11 election as a Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz nominee.



Khuzdar

## Mengals

Dynast: Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal

Sardar Attaullah Khan Mengal  
CM / 70  
Himself

Sardar Akhtar Mengal  
MPA / 88  
Lead  
Opp-PA / 93  
CM / 97  
Son

Sardar Akhtar Mengal  
Senator / 94  
Son



Khuzdar

## Mengals (Nek)

Dynast: Haji Nek M Mengal

Haji Nek M Mengal  
MPA / 77  
Himself

Muhammad Akbar Mengal  
MPA / 02  
Son

Muhammad Akbar Mengal  
Prov  
Minister / 85  
Caretaker CM / 93  
Senator / 03  
Son

Attaullah Mengal is a staunch Baloch nationalist and the chief of his Mengal tribe which is concentrated in Balochistan's Khuzdar and Kech districts. But his nationalist politics wins him support from all over Balochistan. The septagenarian Baloch leader, now living in Karachi, was also an opposition nominee for caretaker prime minister.

Involved in politics since the 1950s, Mengal became the chief minister of Balochistan in 1972-73 as a National Awami Party (NAP) representative. His was the first ever elected government of Balochistan, mutinously dismissed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto over an alleged plot to secede to Balochistan. Bhutto put Mengal and many others in jail where they remained until General Ziaul Haq overthrew the government in 1977.

Mengal founded Simli, Balochi, Pakhun Front in 1980s while he was in living in London. In 1990, he formed Balochistan National Movement (BNM) which in 1996 became Balochistan National Party-Mengal (BNPM) after its merger with Pakistan National Party (PNP) and several smaller nationalist parties. Mengal is now the chairman of BNPM while his son, Akhtar Mengal, who was also the chief minister of Balochistan in 1997, is the party's president.

The Mengals have strong political clout in Balochistan. They have championed the rights of the Baloch people for six decades, vocally criticising the centre's policies towards the province. Their participation in the 2013 election is hailed as a positive development for the return of peace in restive Balochistan as well as for the strengthening of democratic and electoral processes in the province.





Kachhi/Mastung

## Raisanis

Dynast: Mir Ghaus Bukhsh Raisani

**Mir Ghaus Bukhsh Raisani**  
Prov Minister / 70  
Fed Minister / 72  
Prov Minister / 77

Himself

**Mrs Zeb Raisani**  
MPA / 77

Wife

**Mir Aslam Raisani**  
MPA / 88  
Caretaker Prov Minister / 90  
MPA / 02  
CM / 08

Son

**Mir Aslam Raisani**  
Prov Minister / 93  
Senate / 09

Son

Raisanis are a pro-Pakistani family, with tribal and personal support mainly in southern Baloch districts of the province. Nawab Ghaus Baksh Raisani, the chief of Sarawan area in Balochistan, became the first civilian governor of Balochistan in 1971. He was a member of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in the 1970s, having also served as the party's provincial chief then. His wife, Zeb Raisani, was also elected to the Balochistan Assembly on a reserved seat on the same party's ticket.

Though Ghaus Bukhsh Raisani did not take part in electoral politics after 1977, his son, Nawab Aslam Raisani, has been running in elections since 1988 when he ran for a Provincial Assembly seat on a Pakistan National Party ticket. In 2002, he shifted his political affiliation to PPP and in 2008 became the provincial chief minister from the same party's platform. His younger brother, Lashkari Raisani, became PPP's Balochistan president after the 2008 election and a PPP senator in 2009.

In early 2013, Aslam Raisani's government was sacked for failing to stem the tide of deadly attacks against Quetta's Shia Hazara community. Subsequently, his brother, who had resigned from PPP in 2011, joined Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and is running for a Provincial Assembly seat on that party's ticket.

Raisanis are reported to be one of the wealthiest families in Balochistan. At the end of 2012, the worth of Aslam Raisani's assets stood at 522 million rupees, making him one of the richest chief ministers in Pakistan.

# KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA



Abbottabad

**Abbasis of Abbottabad**

Dynast: Javed Iqbal Abbasi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Javed Iqbal Abbasi	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 90, Senator / 97
Murtaza Javed Abbasi	Son	MNA / 2008



Dera Ismail Khan

**Alizais**

Dynast: Major (retd) Latifullah Khan Alizai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Mazhar Jamil Alizai	Cousin	MPA / 02
Hafeezullah Khan Alizai	Brother	MPA / 02
Major (retd) Latifullah Khan Alizai	Himself	MPA / 08
Samiullah Khan Alizai	Nephew	Prov Minister / 08



Shangla

**Amir Muqam's family**

Dynast: Engineer Amir Muqam

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Engineer Amir Muqam	Himself	Fed Minister / 02, MNA / 08
Fazalullah	Nephew	MPA / 08



Kohat

**Amjad Afridi's family**

Dynast: Amjad Khan Afridi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Amjad Khan Afridi	Himself	Prov Minister / 08
Abbas Khan Afridi	Brother	Senator / 09

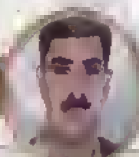


Tank

**Bittanis of Tank**

Dynast: Ghulam Qadir Bittani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Gulistan Khan Bittani	Uncle	MPA / 08
Ghulam Qadir Bittani	Himself	MPA / 08
Zafar Baig Bittani	Father	MNA / 08



Peshawar

**Chamkanis**

Dynast: Hidayatullah Chamkani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Saqibullah Khan Chamkani	Son	MPA / 08
Hidayatullah Chamkani	Himself	Speaker-PA / 97



Mardan

**Chiefs of Mardan**

Dynast: Khan Mir Afzal Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khan Mir Afzal Khan	Himself	MNA / 77, CM/90
Haji M Yaqoob Khan	Nephew	MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Abbas Sarfaraz Khan	Nephew	Senator / 97



Swat

**Dr Mahboob-ur-Rahman's family**

Dynast: Dr Mahboob-ur-Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Mahboob-ur-Rehman	Himself	Senator / 75, Fed Minister / 88
Noor Sahar	Niece	MPA / 08





Peshawar

## Arbab/Khalil

Dynast: Arbab Sikandar Khalil

**Arbab Sikandar Khalil**  
MPA, Government / 70  
Himself

**Arbab Saifur Rahman**  
Dep Speaker-PA / 70  
Dep Speaker-PA / 90  
Dep Speaker-PA / 97  
Son



Peshawar

## Arbabs of Umar

Dynast: Arbab M Zahir Khan

**Arbab Noor M Khan**  
Senator / 86  
Senator / 88  
Father

**Arbab M Zahir Khan**  
Fed Minister / 08  
MNA / 90  
MNA / 93  
MPA / 85  
MPA / 97  
Himself



Peshawar

## Arbabs of Peshawar

Dynast: Arbab Muhammad Jehangir

**Arbab Muhammad Jehangir**  
Caretaker State Minister / 93  
Fed Minister / 77  
Fed Minister / 08  
MNA / 88  
MNA / 90  
MNA / 97  
MNA / 08  
Speaker-NA / 77  
MPA / 85  
MPA / 70  
Himself

**Dr Arbab Alamgir Khan**  
Fed Minister / 08  
Son

**Asma Alamgir**  
MNA / 08  
Daughter-in-law

The elders of the vast Khalil tribe, Arbabs have long been regarded among the wealthiest and most influential families in Peshawar. They own substantial landholding around the city and also run automobile business. They are said to have been administrators in this region as far back as the rule of Nanai Shah in early 18th century.

The most widely-known Arbab is the late Muhammad Jehangir of Tehkal Bala village. He had the distinction of remaining undefeated in all his electoral contests – provincial and federal – from his Peshawar constituency across a 32-year career that ended in 2002. He held a number of senior offices in successive governments, including a stint as the chief minister of the province between 1985 and 1988. Before him, Arbab Sikandar Khalil, another member of Arbab clan, had become the provincial governor.

Though one section of the family, those from Landi Arbab, remained loyal to National Awami Party (NAP), and its successor Awami National Party (ANP), some members of the family have recently joined Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Arbab Jehangir, however, has oscillated between Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) (1977, 1993) and NAP/ANP (1970, 1990, 1997); he even had a stint with Pakistan Muslim League (1985, when the polls were party-less).

Arbab Jehangir's son Arbab Alamgir, who was a federal minister in the outgoing federal government, is running on a PPP ticket for the 2013 polls. His wife, Asma Arbab Alamgir, a member of the National Assembly in a reserved seat in 2008-2013 is also a PPP nominee, again for a reserved seat, for the upcoming election.



Haripur / Abbottabad

## Ayub Khan's family

Dynast: Ayub Khan

**Gohar Ayub Khan**

Fed  
Minister / 97

MNA / 85

MNA / 93

MNA / 77

Speaker-NA / 90

Son

**Umer Ayub Khan**

State  
Minister / 02

Grandson

**Yousaf Ayub Khan**

MPA / 88

MPA / 93

MPA / 97

Grandson

**Zeb Gohar Ayub**

MNA / 02

Daughter-in-law

The roots of Ayub Khan's family are steeped in military culture. This non-Pashtun-speaking Tareen clan comes from Hazara region; Mir Dad Khan Tareen, the father of its patriarch, was a non-commissioned officer in the Royal Indian Army. Ayub Khan became the army chief in 1951 and later he went on to become Pakistan's first military ruler in 1958.

The first member of the family to enter electoral politics is Ayub Khan's son, Gohar Ayub. He, too, was in the army but retired as a captain in 1962. His first foray into electoral politics was in the 1977 election, which would be the first of five straight victories for a National Assembly seat from Abbottabad and Haripur. He became National Assembly speaker in 1990, foreign ministry in 1997 and minister for water and power in 1998. His son, Umer Ayub, became minister of state for finance in 2002 government. Gohar Ayub's wife, Zeb Gohar Ayub, has also won a parliamentary on a reserved seat. She is the daughter of Lieutenant General (ret'd) Habibullah Khan whose brothers Aslam Khattak and Yousaf Khattak were eminent politicians. Her aunt, Kulsoom Saifullah, is the matriarch of another famous political dynasty from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Ayub Khan's family has always been in Muslim League — though it has switched from one faction to the other over time. Ayub Khan formed his own branch of the League, Pakistan Muslim League-Convention; Gohar Ayub was initially a part of the anti-Bhutto Pakistan National Alliance but he later joined Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN). After Gen (ret'd) Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif's government in 1999, the family joined the military-backed Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PMLQ).

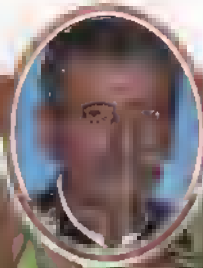
Gohar Ayub has rejoined PMLN for the May 11 polls.



Peshawar

## Bilours of Peshawar

Dynast: Ghulam Ahmad Bilour



**Ghulam Ahmad Bilour**

MNA / 88

Himself

MNA / 97

MPA / 02

Fed  
Minister / 90

Fed  
Minister / 08

Senator / 75

**Bashir Ahmad Bilour**

MPA / 02

Brother

Prov Minister / 90

Prov Minister / 93

Prov Minister / 97

Prov Minister / 08

**Ilyas Ahmad Bilour**

Senator / 94

Brother

Senator / 03

Senator / 06

Senator / 12

The Hindu-speaking Bilours belong to the business class of Peshawar and own many industrial units and a cinema house in the city. They don't have ancestral political roots and have used the cadres and the Pakhtun nationalist message of the Awami National Party (ANP) to create and maintain their political influence in their electoral constituency.

Ghulam Ahmed Bilour is the first person from the family to enter politics in 1970s, having become a follower of Khan Abdul Wali Khan during his college years. His two brothers, Bashir Ahmed Bilour and Ilyas Bilour have also been in different legislative houses over the last few elections. The family has remained loyal to the Awami National Party (ANP), with some grumbling in 2008 when Bashir Ahmed Bilour complained that the party leadership had overlooked his services in choosing the chief minister of the province, a post then eventually went to Amir Haidar Hoti, a nephew of ANP chief Asfandyar Wadi.

Ghulam Ahmed Bilour has remained under continuous fire throughout the 2008-2013 tenure of the outgoing government for failing to run the railways effectively as the department's minister in charge. But Bashir Ahmed Bilour's assassination in December 2012 in a Taliban attack has raised the political stature of the family as it refuses to be deterred by violent extremism.

For the May election, the members of the family are running on ANP tickets from their home constituencies in Peshawar.



Bannu

**Durrani of Bannu**

Dynast: Akram Khan Durrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Akram Khan Durrani	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 97, CM / 02, Lead Opp-Fed / 08
Ziyad Akram Durrani Advocate	Son	MNA / 02, MPA / 08
Irfanullah Durrani	Cousin	MPA / 08



Dera Ismail Khan

**Gandapurs**

Dynast: Sardar Inayatullah Gandapur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Inayatullah Gandapur	Himself	Prov Minister, CM / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 93
Israr Ullah Khan Gandapur	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Mansehra

**Gujars of Mansehra**

Dynast: Sardar M Yousaf

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Yousaf	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Sardar Shahjehan Yousaf	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Nowshera

**Haqqanis of Akora Khattak**

Dynast: Maulana Abdul Haq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulana Abdul Haq	Himself	MNA / 70 MNA / 77, MNA / 85
Maulana Hamid-ul Haq Haqqani	Grandson	MNA / 02
Maulana Sami-ul Haq	Son	Senator / 85, Senator / 91, Senator / 03

Marwat

**Kabir Khan's family**

Dynast: Haji M Kabir Khan Marwat

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Kabir Khan Marwat	Himself	MNA / 93, MNA / 97,
Munawar Khan Marwat	Brother	MPA / 08
Zafarullah Khan	Nephew	MPA / 02

Kohistan

**Khans of Allai**

Dynast: Haji M Ayub Khan Allai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Ayub Khan Allai	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88 MNA / 93
M Nawaz Khan Allai	Son	MNA / 97, MNA / 08



Buner

**Khans of Buner**

Dynast: Abdul Matin Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Matin Khan	Himself	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 08
Istiqbal Khan	Son	MNA / 08



Bannu

**Khans of Topi**

Dynast: Ghulam Ishaq Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Ishaq Khan	Himself	President / 88, Ch-Senate / 85, Fed Minister / 77
Irfanullah Khan Marwat	Son-in-law	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 02





## Abbottabad

### Jadoons of Abbottabad

Dynast: Amanullah Khan Jadoon

Iqbal Khan  
Jadoon

CM / 77

Prov Minister / 70

Brother

Inayatullah Khan  
Jadoon

MPA / 08

Nephew

Amanullah Khan  
Jadoon

Fed  
Minister / 02

MPA / 85

Prov Minister / 88

Himself

Farid M  
Jadoon

MNA / 88

Brother

Jadoons are a Hindko-speaking family who belong to the Abbottabad district. The family's entry into politics predates partition. They trace their political roots to Faqir Jadoon who first became a member of the Indian National Congress and then switched to the All India Muslim League. His son, Gohar-ur-Rehman Jadoon, had a short-lived political career but his three grandsons (Iqbal Jadoon, Amanullah Jadoon and Farid Jadoon) have successfully carried forward his political legacy.

The Jadoons have been in Pakistan Muslim League except in 1977 when Iqbal Jadoon contested election on a Pakistan Peoples Party ticket and became chief minister. After becoming a member of the Provincial Assembly in party-less polls of 1985, Amanullah Jadoon became an Islami Jamhoori Ittehad candidate for the 1988 polls. In the 1990s, the family remained with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN) and used to be a part of what in local parlance is called "joomba" politics, which means fighting elections as a group in order to avoid facing tough contests and pool in the voting resources of each member of the group in order to benefit all in it. But in 2002, he joined Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid-e-Azam and Amanullah Jadoon became a federal minister in the party's government.

Amanullah Jadoon is not taking part in the May 11 election due to ill health but he is supporting a fellow Jadoon clansman, Dr Azhar Jadoon, who is a Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf candidate against former chief minister and PMLN nominee, Meluh Abbasi.



## Mardan

### Hotis of Mardan

Dynast: Muhammad Azam Khan Hoti

Muhammad Azam  
Khan Hoti

Fed  
Minister / 97

Senator / 94

Senator / 12

State  
Minister / 90

Himself

Amir Haider  
Khan Hoti

CM / 08

Son

The two families from Hoti village in Mardan district, though distantly related, have rarely been in the same political camp. Muhammad Azam Khan Hoti and his family have always been with the Awami National Party (ANP). This could well be due to their ties with the family of the party's founder, Wali Khan. Azam Hoti's sister, Naseem Wuli, is the second wife of Wali Khan whose daughter from his first wife is Azam Hoti's wife. Amir Haider Hoti, the outgoing chief minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, is Azam Hoti's son and Wali Khan's grandson.

The second family from Hoti is of Khwaja Muhammad Hoti, who is the nephew of former federal minister and provincial governor Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Hoti. Khwaja Muhammad Hoti has changed many parties after having entered the politics by winning a Provincial Assembly seat on a Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) ticket in 1988. In the 2000s, he also remained PPP's provincial chief. He won a National Assembly seat as an ANP nominee in 2008 but later resigned and joined Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in 2011. The next year, he joined Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN).

Azam Hoti, who is accused of having made a quick buck during the provincial government of his son, is not running in the 2013 polls; instead, Amir Haider Hoti is running both for the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly from his home constituencies in Mardan. Khwaja Muhammad Hoti has also been trying to promote his son, Umer Farooq Khan, to enter the political arena. For the May 11 polls, he is running for a National Assembly seat on a PMLN ticket while Umer Farooq Khan is the same party's nominee for a Provincial Assembly seat.



Dir

## Khans of Dir

Dynast: Haji Amanullah Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Najamuddin Khan	Son	MPA / 97 / MNA / 08
Haji Amanullah Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 70, Prov Minister / 77



Hangu

## Khans of Hangu

Dynast: Ghanjur Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghanjur Rehman	Himself	MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 97
Attique Rehman	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Malakand Protected Area

## Khans of Malakand

Dynast: M Hanif Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Hanif Khan	Himself	Speaker-PA / 70, Dep Speaker-PA / 77, State Minister / 88
M Humayun Khan	Son	Prov Minister / 08



Mansehra Protected Area

## Khan of Mansehra

Dynast: M Hanif Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Hanif Khan	Himself	MNA / 70, MPA / 77
Shehzada Gustasp Khan	Nephew	Lead Opp-PA / 02, Caretaker Fed Minister / 07, MNA / 88, MNA / 90,
M Haroon Khan Badshah	Brother	MNA / 70, MNA / 77,

Swat

## Khans of Swat

Dynast: Shujat Ali Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shujaat Ali Khan	Himself	MNA / 97, MNA / 85
Fateh M Khan	Brother	MNA / 77, MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 97
Dost M Khan	Brother-in-law	Prov Minister / 77, Prov Minister / 93



Kohat / Karak

## Khattaks of Kohat/Karak

Dynast: Aslam Khan Khattak

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Yousaf Khattak	Brother	Fed Minister / 70, MNA / 77
Aslam Khan Khattak	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 90, Speaker-NA / 70, MPA / 70, Gov / 70
Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan	Son-in-law	MPA / 77, MPA / 85, MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 97



Nowshera

## Khattaks of Nowshera

Dynast: Parvez Khattak

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Parvez Khattak	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 08
Liaqat Khan Khattak	Brother	MPA / 02



Dera Ismail Khan

## Kundis (Fazal Karim Khan)

Dynast: Fazal Karim Kundi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Fazal Karim Khan Kundi	Himself	MNA / 90
Faisal Karim Kundi	Son	Dep Speaker-Fed / 08



## Dera Ismail Khan

### Kundis (Habibullah Khan)

Dynast: Habibullah Khan Kundi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Habibullah Khan Kundi	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Haji Amanullah Khan Kundi	Son	MPA / 77, Prov Minister / 88

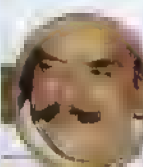


Dir

### Malliks of Dir

Dynast: Bahram Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Bahram Khan	Himself	MPA / 93
Hayat Khan	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Lakki Marwat

### Marwats

Dynast: Anwar Kamal Khan Marwat

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Anwar Kamal Khan Marwat	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 02, Senator / 97
Justice (ret'd) Habibullah Khan Marwat	Father	Ch-Senate / 73



Dera Ismail Khan

### Miankhels of DI Khan

Dynast: Haji Sanaullah Khan Miankhel

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Sanaullah Khan Miankhel	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, MPA / 08
Alihaj Sardar Umer Farooq Khan Miankhel	Brother	MPA / 90, MNA / 97



Peshawar

### Mohmands of Shabqadar

Dynast: Haji Dilawar Khan Mohmand

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Dilawar Khan Mohmand	Himself	MPA / 85, Senator / 97
Muhammad Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 08
Babar Ali Khan	Grandson	MPA / 08



Mardan

### Molana Gohar Rehman's family

Dynast: Molana Gohar Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Atta ur Rehman	Son	Fed Minister / 02
Molana Gohar Rehman	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 85



Dera Ismail Khan

### Maulanas of DI Khan

Dynast: Maulana Fazlur Rahman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulvi Mufti Mahmud	Father	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Maulana Ataur Rahman	Brother	MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Maulana Lutfur Rahman	Brother	MPA / 05
Maulana Fazlur Rahman	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 93, Lead Opp-Fed / 02, MNA / 08
Nayyar Sultana	Sister-in-law	MNA / 02
Shahida Akhtar Ali	Sister-in-law	MNA / 02
Rehana Ismail	Sister-in-law	MPA / 02
Haji Ghulam Ali	Co-father-in-law	Senator / 09



Mardan

### Maulanas of Mardan

Dynast: Maulana Shaheed Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulana Shaheed Ahmad	Himself	MNA / 88
Maulana M Qasim	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Charsadda

## Khans of Charsadda

Dynast: Khan Abdul Wali Khan

Khan Abdul Wali Khan	
MNA / 70	Himself
MNA / 88	

Begum Naseem Wali Khan	
MNA / 77	Wife
MPA / 97	
MPA / 88	
MPA / 90	
MPA / 93	

Asfandiyar Wali Khan	
MNA / 93	Son
MNA / 97	
MNA / 08	
Senator / 03	
MPA / 90	

Few will argue against terming the Khans of Charsadda the most influential family in terms of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's ideological politics. Khan Abul Ghaffar Khan, known popularly as Bacha Khan, the patriarch of the dynasty, was the founder of a social welfare movement, Khudai Khidmatgar, in pre-independence India and a champion of Pashtun nationalism in post-independence Pakistan. Along with other eminent leftist and nationalist leaders of the undivided Pakistan, he founded National Awami Party (NAP) in 1958 but in 1960s left active politics, giving the leadership of the party to his son, Khan Abdul Wali Khan.

Like his father in the 1950s, Wali Khan was jailed and tried for treason in the 1970s after his party's provincial government was sacked and the party itself was banned. It was during this period that his wife Naseem Wali first made her political mark as a public agitator. In the 1980s, Wali Khan revived NAP as Awami National Party (ANP) which has had fluctuating electoral fortunes over the next two decades or so. In 2008, years after an ailing Wali Khan passed the party leadership on to his son Asfandiyar Wali, ANP pulled off its biggest election victory since the 1970s.

The members of the family, however, have not had electoral success to match their political eminence. Only three members of the family have made it to different houses of the parliament since the 1970s, and they, too, have not enjoyed consecutive victories.

For the May 11 polls, Asfandiyar Wali is representing his family from his own party's platform but is not going out in the public for campaigning due to security threats from the Taliban.





### Kohistan

#### Maulvis of Kohistan

Dynast: Maulvi Obaidullah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mahbubullah Jan	Brother	MNA / 08,
Maulvi Qbaidullah	Himself	MPA / 08
Sajjadullah Khan	Nephew	MPA / 08



### Mardan

#### Nawabs of Hoti

Dynast: Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Khan Hoti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khwaja M Khan Hoti	Nephew	MPA / 88, Fed Minister / 08, MPA / 93
Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor	Himself	Fed Minister / 85
M Ali Khan Hoti Khan Hoti	Cousin	Senator / 85



### Nowshera

#### Qazis of Nowshera

Dynast: Qazi Hussain Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qazi Hussain Ahmad	Himself	Senator / 85, Senator / 88, MNA / 02
Samia Raheel Qazi	Daughter	MNA / 02



### Abbottabad

#### Rajas of Abbottabad

Dynast: Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan	Himself	Lead Opp-PA / 70, Prov Minister / 70, Fed Minister / 81, MNA / 88, Prov Minister / 77, Prov Minister / 90, Caretaker CM / 96
Raja Faisal Zaman	Son	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Sultan Raja Eraj Zaman	Nephew	MPA / 85

### Dir

#### Sahabzadas of Dir

Dynast: Sahabzada Safiullah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sahabzada Falehullah	Brother	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Sahabzada Safiullah	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Sahabzada Tariqullah	Nephew	MPA / 93



#### Senator Gulzar's family

Dynast: Gulzar Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Gulzar Ahmad Khan	Himself	Senator / 91, Fed Minister / 93, Senator / 03, Senator / 09
Waqar Ahmad Khan	Son	Senator / 09, Senator / 03, Senator / 12
Ammar Ahmad Khan	Son	Senator / 06, Senator / 09



### Mansehra

#### Shahs of Mansehra

Dynast: Syed Qasim Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Qasim Shah	Himself	Fed Minister / 85, Fed Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 90, Senator / 94
Syed Abbas Shah	Brother	MPA / 85
Syed Mazhar Ali Qasim Shah	Son	MPA / 02



### Peshawar

#### Shahs of Peshawar

Dynast: Syed Zafar Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Zahir Ali Shah	Son	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Syed Zafar Ali Shah	Himself	Prov Minister / 77, Fed Minister / 93
Rubina Khalid	Daughter	Senator / 12



Dera Ismail Khan

## Saifullahs

Dynast: Kulsoom Saifullah Khan

Kulsoom Saifullah Khan	
	Herself
MNA / 85	
MNA / 77	
MNA / 88	
MPA / 70	

Anwar Saifullah Khan	
	Son
MNA / 88	
MPA / 08	
Senator, Fed Minister / 90	
Senator, Fed Minister / 91	

Humayun Saifullah Khan	
	Son
MNA / 08	
MPA / 77	
MPA / 97	
Prov Minister / 70	
Prov Minister / 88	

Saleem Saifullah Khan	
	Son
MPA / 97	
Caretaker CM / 88	
Senator / 06	
Senator, Fed Minister / 85	
Prov Minister / 90	
Caretaker Fed Minister / 04	

Usman Saifullah Khan	
	Grandson
Senator / 12	

Brothers Aslam Khattak, Yousuf Khattak and Lieutenant General (retd) Habibullah, hailing from the Karak/Kohat region, have been prominent in Pakistan's power corridors in the 1960s through to the 1980s. But none of them could transfer their political legacy to their offspring as successfully as their sister, Kulsoom Saifullah has. She has been a member of different legislative houses since the 1970s and her three sons have also made it to the parliament more than once. Her grandson is the latest member of the family to have become a parliamentarian.

Saifullahs have close familial links with two former presidents. Kulsoom Saifullah's son, Anwar Saifullah, is married to the daughter of former president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Her niece is the wife of Ayub Khan's son Gohar Aynb, and her granddaughter, Anwar Saifullah's daughter, is married to Gohar Aynb's son, Omer Aynb whose sister is married to Kulsoom Saifullah's other son, Iqbal Saifullah. The family is also into big business, with interests in textiles, energy, telecom and real estate development.

The family has used party politics to the best of their advantage, having mostly remained on the right side of power. Even when one part of the family was in the opposition, the other was in the government. Anwar Saifullah, for instance, was part of the outgoing government of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) whereas his brothers, Salim Saifullah and Humayun Saifullah, were in the opposition. The members of the family, however, never contest election against each other.

Continuing this family tradition in the 2013 polls, Anwar Saifullah is running on a nomination from PPP which he is provincial president of, whereas Salim Saifullah is running in a different constituency on a Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz ticket.





## Charsadda

### Sherpaos

Dynast: Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao	Himself	MPA / 02, MPA / 77, MPA / 88, CM / 88, Fed Minister / 77, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Lead Opp-Fed / 93, CM / 94, MNA / 02, MNA / 08, MPA / 97, Fed Minister / 04, MPA / 08
Hayat M Khan Sherpao	Brother	Gov / 70, Prov Minister / 70
Sikandar Sherpao	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Peshawar

### Syed Aqil Shah's family

Dynast: Syed Aqil Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Farah Aqil	Wife	MPA / 02, Senator / 09
Syed Aqil Shah	Himself	Prov Minister / 08, Senator / 97



## Mansehra

### Syeds of Mansehra

Dynast: Syed Muzammil Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Muzammil Shah	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, Senator / 91
Syed Ahmad Hussain Shah	Son	Prov Minister / 08



## Peshawar

### Syeds of Peshawar

Dynast: Qamar Abbas

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qamar Abbas	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 93
Farhat Abbas	Wife	Senator / 09

## Abbottabad

### Tareens of Abbottabad

Dynast: Habibullah Khan Tareen

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Habibullah Khan Tareen	Himself	Dep Speaker-PA / 90, MPA / 85
Akhtar Nawaz Khan	Brother	MPA / 77, Senator / 85



## Swabi

### Tarkai

Dynast: Shahram Khan Tarkai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Engineer Usman Khan Tarkai	Uncle	MNA / 08
Engineer Javed Iqbal Tarkai	Uncle	MPA / 08



## Swat

### Wali of Swat's family

Dynast: Mian Gul Aurangzeb

Members	Relationship
Mian Gul Aurangzeb	Himself
Gov / 97	
MNA / 70	
MNA / 85	
MNA / 93	

Members	Relationship
Mian Gul Amir Zeb	Brother
MNA / 77	

Members	Relationship
Shahzada Amanul Room	Son-in-law
Senator / 85	
MNA / 88	

Members	Relationship
Mian Gul Adnan Aurangzeb	Son
MNA / 97	

Members	Relationship
Mian Gul Aefandya Amir Zeb	Nephew
MPA / 85	
MPA / 97	

# TRIBAL AREAS



## Bismillah Khan's family

Dynast: Bismillah Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Bismillah Khan	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Hidayatullah	Son	Senator / 12
Shaukatullah Khan	Son	Gov; Fed Minister / 08



## Ghazi Said's family

Dynast: Ghazi Said Jamal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Syed Ghazi Gulab Jamal	Son	MNA / 02
Ghazi Said Jamal	Himself	MNA / 88

## Haji Sakhi Jan's family

Dynast: Haji Sakhi Jan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Sakhi Jan	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 90, Senator / 94
Abdul Qayoom Khan	Nephew	MNA / 93

## Jehangir Khan's family

Dynast: Jehangir Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Jehangir Khan	Himself	MNA / 85
Muhammad Ajmal	Son	Fed Minister / 90

## Khayal Said Mian's family

Dynast: Khayal Said Mian

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khayal Said Mian	Himself	Senator / 85, Senator / 88, Senator / 73
Syed Sajjad Hussain Mian	Nephew	Senator / 03

## Malik Gulab Khan's family

Dynast: Malik Gulab Khan Mahsud

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Gulab Khan Mahsud	Himself	Senator / 85, Senator / 91
Alam, Sher Mahsud	Son	Senator / 92



## Noorul Haq Qadri's family

Dynast: Noorul Haq Qadri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Noorul Haq Qadri	Himself	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Hafiz Abdul Malik Qadri	Brother	Senator / 03



# PUNJAB



Rawalpindi

## Abbasis of Murree

Dynast: Muhammad Khaqan Abbasi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Khaqan Abbasi	Himself	MNA / 85
Saadia Abbasi	Daughter	Senator / 03
Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	Son	Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Fed Minister / 08



Vehari

## Abdul Aziz Dogar's family

Dynast: Abdul Aziz Dogar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Aziz Dogar	Himself	MPA / 70
Dr Nazir Ahmad Mithu Dogar	Daughter	MPA / 02



Mianwali

## Abdul Ghafoor Khan's family

Dynast: Abdul Ghafoor Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Hafeez Khan	Son	MPA / 08
Abdul Rahman Khan Babil	Son	Adviser / 93
Col (retd) Muhammad Aslam Khan	Brother-in-law	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Nawabzada Abdul Razaq Khan	Son	Prov Minister / 85, MPA / 02
Zakia Shah Nawaz Niazi	Daughter	MPA / 77, MPA / 85



Bahawalnagar

## Abdul Qadir Shaheen's family

Dynast: Abdul Qadir Shaheen

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Qadir Shaheen	Himself	MPA / 88
Samina Naveed	Sister-in-law	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Faisalabad

## Abdur Rehman Jami's family

Dynast: Abdur Rehman Jami

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdur Rehman Jami	Himself	MPA / 70
Dr Ashfaq ur Rehman	Son	Prov Minister / 02



Layyah

## Achlana's of Layyah

Dynast: Meher Ijaz Ahmad Achlana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Meher Ijaz Ahmad Achlana	Himself	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Rehana Ijaz	Wife	MPA / 08



Faisalabad

## Aftab Ahmad Khan's family

Dynast: Aftab Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Aftab Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 02
Irshad Muhammad Khan	Father	MPA / 77



Sheikhpura

## Agha Ghulam Haider's family

Dynast: Agha Ghulam Haider

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Agha Ghulam Haider	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97,
Agha Ali Haider	Son	MPA / 02



Vehari

## Akbar Ali Bhatti's family

Dynast: Akbar Ali Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Akbar Ali Bhatti	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 90
Abdul Hameed Bhatti	Brother	MPA / 93



Lahore

## Akhtar Abdur Rehman's family

Dynast: Akhtar Abdur Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haroon Akhtar Khan	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 02, Senator / 06
Humayun Akhtar Khan	Son	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Fed Minister / 02



Rahim Yar Khan

## Alams of Rahim Yar Khan

Dynast: Makhdoom Syed Ahmad Alam Anwar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Syed Ahmad Alam Anwar	Himself	MNA / 85, State Minister / 86, MNA / 90, Fed Minister / 93, MNA / 02
Syed Masood Alam Shah	Nephew	MPA / 97



Attock

## Amir M Khan's family

Dynast: Amir Muhammad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Amir Muhammad Khan	Himself	MPA / 88
Colonel (retd) Malik M. Anwar	Brother	Prov Minister / 02
Malik Khurram Ali Khan	Nephew	MPA / 08



Faisalabad

## Amjad Yasin's family

Dynast: Mian Amjad Yasin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Amjad Yasin	Himself	MNA / 93
Rifat Amjad	Wife	MNA / 02



Faisalabad

## Ansari of Faisalabad

Dynast: Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Muhammad Akram Ansari	Himself	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 08
Muhammad Hanif Ansari	Brother	MNA / 85

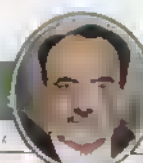


Multan

## Ansari of Multan

Dynast: Feroz Din Ansari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Feroz Din Ansari	Himself	MNA / 85, Senator / 75
Nafees Ahmad Ansari	Son	MPA / 02



Faisalabad

## Anwar Ali Khan's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Anwar Ali Khan Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Anwar Ali Khan Baloch	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Khatid Imtiaz Khan Baloch	Son	MPA / 08



Narowal

## Apa Nisar Fatima's family

Dynast: Apa Nisar Fatima

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Apa Nisar Fatima Zahra	Herself	MNA / 85
Ahsan Iqbal	Son	MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Fed Minister / 08



Bahawalpur

## Aqeelur Rehman's family

Dynast: Muhammad Aqeelur Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Aqeelur Rehman	Himself	MNA / 97
Muhammad Baleeghur-Rehman	Son	MNA / 08



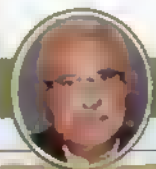
Lahore

## Ansari of Baghbanpura

Dynast: Mian Misbahur Rehman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Pervaiz Malik	Brother-in-law	MNA / 97, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Mujtaba Shujaur Rehman	Nephew	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08
Yasmeen Rehman	Wife	MNA / 02, Fed Adviser / 08





Lodhran

## Arsins of Lodhran

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Rafiq Arain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Muhammad Rafiq Arain	Himself	MPA / 93
Mian Muhammad Shafiq Arain	Brother	MPA / 08



Rahim Yar Khan

## Arsins of Rahim Yar Khan

Dynast: Mian Abdul Sattar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Abdul Sattar	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90 MPA / 97, MNA / 08
Mian Muhammad Islam	Father	MPA / 70
Mian Shafi Muhammad	Brother	MPA / 08



Sheikhupura

## Ashiq Hussain Bhatti's family

Dynast: Ashiq Hussain Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ashiq Hussain Bhatti	Himself	MPA / 85
Muhammad Javed Bhatti	Brother	MPA / 08



Bahawalpur

## Awaisis of Bahawalpur

Dynast: Mian Shahabuddin Awaisi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Shahabuddin Awaisi	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Mian Najeebuddin Awaisi	Brother	MPA / 97
Mian Saifullah Awaisi	Brother	MPA / 02
Mian Sardar Ahmad Awaisi	Cousin	MPA / 70, MPA / 77



Jhelum / Gujrat

## Awans of Gujrat

Dynast: Malik Muhammad Hanif Awan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Muhammad Hanif Awan	Himself	MPA / 97, MNA / 08
Malik Muhammad Jamil Awan	Nephew	MNA / 08

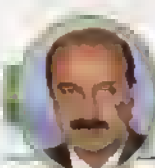


Hafizabad

## Awans of Hafizabad

Dynast: Malik Fazal Hussain Awan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Fazal Hussain Awan	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 88
Malik Fiaz Ahmad Awan	Son	MPA / 08



Khushab

## Awans of Khushab

Dynast: Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Karam Bakhsh Awan	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Malik Muhammad Bashir Awan	Son	MPA / 88
Malik Muhammad Javed Iqbal Awan	Son	MPA / 08, MPA / 02
Malik Shakir Bashir Awan	Grandson	MNA / 08



Chakwal

## Ayaz Amir's family

Dynast: Ayaz Amir

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ayaz Amir	Himself	MPA / 97, MNA / 08
Muhammad Amir Khan	Father	MNA / 70



Gujranwala

## Azam Cheema's family

Dynast: Muhammad Azam Cheema

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Azam Cheema	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 97, Adviser / 88, Adviser / 90
Muhammad Nasir Cheema	Brother	MPA / 02

Sargodha

## Badranas of Sargodha

Dynast: Liaquat Hayat Badrana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Liaquat Hayat Badrana	Himself	MNA / 93
Amanullah Khan Badrana	Brother	MNA / 85



Faisalabad

## Bajwas of Faisalabad

Dynast: Ghulam Mustafa Bajwa

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Mustafa Bajwa	Himself	MNA / 88
Tariq Mehmood Bajwa	Son	MNA / 08



Rawalpindi

## Basharat Raja's family

Dynast: Basharat Raja

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Basharat Raja	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 93 Prov Minister / 97, Prov Minister / 02
Agha Parli Gul	Wife	PB / 85, S / 03 - 09



Layyah

## Behram Khan's family

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Behram Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Muhammad Behram Khan	Himself	MNA / 77
Muhammad Jehangir Khan	Brother	MNA / 85, MNA / 93
Sardar Bahadur Ahmad Khan Sehar	Nephew	MNA / 02, State Minister / 08



Sargodha

## Bharths of Sargodha

Dynast: Dr Ijaz Ahmad Malik Bharth

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr Ijaz Ahmad Malik Bharth	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93
Dr Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Bharth	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Jhang

## Bharwanas of Jhang

Dynast: Mehr Akhtar Abbas Bharwana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehr Akhtar Abbas Bharwana	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 90
Salma Akhtar Bharwana	Daughter	MNA / 02, MNA / 08

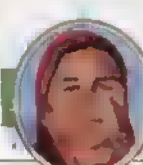


Jhang

## Bharwanas of Mighiana

Dynast: Mehr Aslam Khan Bharwana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehr Aslam Khan Bharwana	Himself	MPA / 88, Adviser / 90 MPA / 97
Mehr Sultan Sikandar Bharwana	Brother	MPA / 08



Jhang

## Bharwanas of Satiana

Dynast: Mehar Ghulam Haider Bharwana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehar Ghulam Haider Bharwana	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Ghulam Bibi Bharwana	Granddaughter	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Hafizabad

## Bhattis of Hafizabad

Dynast: Chaudhry Mehdi Hasan Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Mehdi Hasan Bhatti	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 02
Chaudhry Liaqat Abbas Bhatti	Brother	MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Chaudhry Nazir Abbas Bhatti	Brother	Adviser / 93
Chaudhry Shaukat Ali Bhatti	Son	Prov Minister / 02



Gujranwala

## Bhattis of Pindi Bhattian

Dynast: Mian Jahangir Khan Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Jahangir Khan Bhatti	Himself	MPA / 85
Mian Intisar Hussain Bhatti	Son	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97



Rawalpindi

## Bhattis of Rawalpindi

Dynast: Abdul Aziz Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Aziz Bhatti	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Shaukat Aziz Bhatti	Son	MPA / 08, MPA / 90



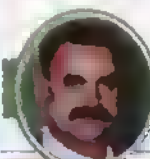


## Gujranwala

### Bhinders of Aroop

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Bhinder	Himself	Speaker-NA / 77, Senator / 03, Senator / 84
Chaudhry Shahid Akram Bhinder	Nephew	MPA / 90, MPA / 97, Fed Minister / 02,



## Gujranwala

### Bhinders of Kamoki

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Yousuf Bhinder

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Yousuf Bhinder	Himself	MPA / 93
Zulfiqar Ali Bhinder	Son	MPA / 08



## Khanewal/Multan

### Bodias

Dynast: Pir Muhammad Sanaulah Bodla

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Muhammad Sanaulah Bodla	Himself	MNA / 85
Pir Muhammad Aslam Bodla	Son	MNA / 93, MNA / 02, MNA / 08

## Mandi Bahauddin

### Bosans of Multan

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Nawaz Bosal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Nawaz Bosal	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MNA / 85, MNA / 90
Muhammad Iqbal Bosal	Brother	MNA / 97



## Rawalpindi

### Brigadier Fateh Khan's family

Dynast: Brigadier (retd) Fateh Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan	Son	MNA / 85, Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 88, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 97, MNA / 02, Fed Minister, Lead Opp-Fed / 08
Chaudhry Waqar Ali Khan	Nephew	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Asif Ali Malik	Son-in-law	MPA / 97
Fateh Khan Malik	Co-father-in-law	MPA / 70



## Multan

### Bukharis of Multan

Dynast: Dewan Ghulam Abbas Bukhari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dewan Ghulam Abbas Bukhari	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Deewan Jaffer Hussain Bukhari	Son	MNA / 02
Dewan Syed Ashiq Hussain Bukhari	Son	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 97, MNA / 08



## Muzaffargarh

### Bukharis of Muzaffargarh

Dynast: Syed Abdullah Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Abdullah Shah	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MPA / 93, MPA / 97,
Jamil Ahmad Hussain Bukhari	Brother	MNA / 97
Syed Basit Ahmad Sultan Bukhari	Son	MPA / 97, MNA / 02, MPA / 08
Syed Haroon Ahmad Sultan Bukhari	Son	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08

## Muzaffargarh

### Burqs of Muzaffargarh

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Burq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Burq	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Zulfiqar Ali Burq	Son	MNA / 85, MNA / 88



## Dera Ghazi Khan

### Buzdars of DG Khan

Dynast: Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan Buzdar

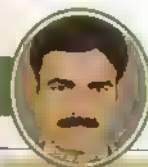
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Buzdar	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan Buzdar	Son	MNA / 77, MPA / 77

## Bahawalnagar

### Ch Abdul Ghafoor's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Abdul Ghafoor	Himself	Prov Minister / 85, MNA / 88, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 97, MNA / 08
Chaudhry Zafar Iqbal	Son	MPA / 90, Senator / 03

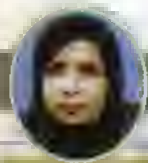


Toba Tek Singh

### Ch Ihsanul Haq's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Ihsan ul Haq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ihsanul Haq	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 93,
Chaudhry Azhar Nadeem	Son-in-law	MPA / 02



Chakwal

### Ch Liaquat Ali Khan's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Liaquat Ali Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Liaquat Ali Khan	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Hafat Liaquat Ali Khan	Wife	MPA / 08



Bahawalpur

### Ch Riaz Ahmad's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Riaz Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Riaz Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 93
Ahmad Nawaz	Brother	MPA / 02

Faisalabad

### Ch Saboor Khan's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Abdus Saboor Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Abdus Saboor Khan	Himself	MNA / 88
Chaudhry Muhammad Khan	Brother	MNA / 70, MPA / 77

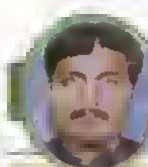


Faisalabad

### Ch Zahoor Ahmad's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Zahoor Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Zahoor Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 70
Shahid Khalil Noor	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Gujranwala

### Chatthas of Alipur

Dynast: Chaudhry Bashir Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Bashir Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 70
Saif Ali Chattha	Son	MPA / 88
Akmat Saif Chattha	Grandson	MPA / 02



Sheikhupura

### Chatthas of Sheikhupura

Dynast: Naeem Hussain Chattha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Naeem Hussain Chattha	Himself	MPA / 85, State Minister / 90 MNA / 97, Senator / 03 Senator / 06
Abid Hussain Chattha	Son	MPA / 02



Rawalpindi

### Chaudhary Muhammad Riaz's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Riaz

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Riaz	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 85 MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97
Chaudhry Muhammad Khurshid Zaman	Brother	MNA / 97



Sargodha

### Chaudhary Abdul Hameed

Dynast: Chaudhry Abdul Hameed

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Abdul Hameed	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90 MPA / 93, MNA / 97
Imbeshat Hamid Hameed	Daughter-in-law	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Gujrat

### Chaudhry Ahmad Mukhtar's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Ahmad Mukhtar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ahmad Mukhtar	Himself	MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 08
Chaudhry Ahmad Saeed	Brother	MPA / 77



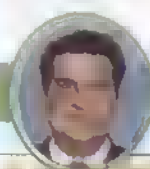


Jhelum

### Chaudhry Altaf Hussain's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Altaf Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Altaf Hussain	Himself	MNA / 90
Chaudhry Shahbaz Hussain	Brother	Fed Minister / 02



Sialkot / Narowal

### Chaudhry Anwar Aziz's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Anwar Aziz

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Anwar Aziz	Himself	Fed Minister / 77, Fed Minister / 85, MNA / 88
Daniyal Aziz Chaudhry	Son	MNA / 97, MNA / 02

Gujrat/Mandi Bahauddin

### Chaudhry Faiz Ahmad's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Faiz Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Faiz Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 85
Chaudhry Riaz Asghar	Son	MPA / 02



Multan/Khanewal

### Chaudhry Farzand Ali's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Farzand Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Farzand Ali	Father	MPA / 70
Chaudhry Fazal ur Rahman	Son	MPA / 97



Gujrat

### Chaudhry Fazl Elahi's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Fazl Elahi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Fazl Elahi	Himself	MNA / 70, Pras / 73
Chaudhry Atta Elahi	Son	MNA / 77
Chaudhry Muhammad Safdar	Nephew	MPA / 88
Rehman Naseer Chaudhry	Grandson	MNA / 02



Lahore

### Chaudhry Ghulam Qadir's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Ghulam Qadir

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ghulam Qadir	Himself	MPA / 88
Waseem Qadir	Son	MPA / 08



Lahore

### Chaudhry Ghulam Rasool's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Ghulam Rasool

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Akhtar Rasool	Son	Prov Minister / 85, Adviser / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Chaudhry Muhammad Siddiq Salar	Brother	MPA / 97

Jhelum

### Chaudhry Khadim Hussain's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Khadim Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Khadim Hussain	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Adviser / 93, MPA / 08
Chaudhry Nadeem Khadim	Son	MPA / 08

Rahim Yar Khan

### Chaudhry Masood Ahmad's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Masood Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Masood Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Chaudhry Mahmood Ahmad	Brother	MPA / 02



Toba Tek Singh

### Chaudhry M Ashfaq's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Ashfaq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Ashfaq	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 93
Muhammad Farhan Latif	Nephew	MNA / 02



Rawalpindi

### Chaudhry Muhammad Aslam's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Aslam

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Aslam	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 85.
Chaudhry Muhammad Kamran Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 02



Gujrat

### Chaudhry M. Farooq's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Farooq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Farooq	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 02
Chaudhry Muhammad Arshad	Brother	MPA / 08



Sialkot

### Chaudhry Sadaqat Ali's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Sadaqat Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Sadaqat Ali	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Advlser / 93
Chaudhry Mumtaz Ali	Brother	MPA / 02



Faisalabad

### Chaudhry Talib Hussain's family

Dynast: Talib Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Talib Hussain	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Saeed Iqbal	Nephew	MNA / 08

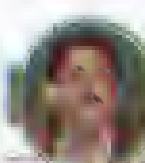


Rawalpindi

### Chaudhry Tanvir's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Tanvir Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Tanvir Khan	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Chaudhry Sarfaraz Arzal	Nephew	MPA / 08



Gujrat

### Chaudhrys of Gujrat (Tajamal Hussain)

Dynast: Chaudhry Tajamal Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Tajamal Hussain	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 90
Chaudhry Mubashir Hussain	Son	MNA / 97



Gujranwala

### Chaudhrys of Qila Deedar Singh

Dynast: Chaudhry Ejaz Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ejaz Ahmad	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Chaudhry Bilal Ejaz	Son	MNA / 02



Bahawalpur

### Cheemas of Bahawalpur

Dynast: Tariq Bashir Cheema

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Tariq Bashir Cheema	Himself	Prov Minister / 93
Tahir Bashir Cheema	Brother	MPA / 88, MPA / 93, MNA / 02



Gujranwala

### Cheemas of Gujranwala

Dynast: Chaudhry Zatarullah Cheema

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Zatarullah Cheema	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Dr Sobali Zafar Cheema	Son	Prov Minister / 02



Jhang

### Chelas

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Aslam Chela

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Muhammad Aslam Chela	Himself	MPA / 77
Mian Muhammad Azam Chela	Nephew	MPA / 08
Muhammad Akram Chela	Brother	MPA / 93





## Sargodha

### Cheemas of Sargodha

Dynast: Chaudhry Anwar Ali Cheema

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Anwar Ali Cheema	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Chaudhary Aamir Sultan Cheema	Son	MPA / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08
Chaudhry Farrukh Javed Ghuman	Brother-in-law	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Tanzeeta Aamir Cheema	Daughter-in-law	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



## Gujranwala

### Cheemas of Wazirabad

Dynast: Chaudhry Ghulam Haider Cheema

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ghulam Haider Cheema	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 70
Col (retd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema	Son	Federal Minister / 88, MNA / 97,
Dr Saira Tariq	Grandson	MNA / 02



## Sheikhpura

### Chhaba Dogar's family

Dynast: Safdarul Haq Dogar

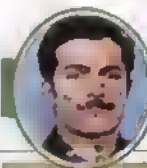
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Safdarul Haq Dogar	Himself	MPA / 88
Abdur Rashid Dogar	Uncle	MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Saeedul Haq Dogar	Brother	MPA / 97

## Jhang

### Chiragh Akbar's family

Dynast: Chiragh Akbar Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chiragh Akbar Shah	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Syed Ghazanfar Abbas Shah	Brother-in-law	MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Syed M Taqi Shah	Father	MPA / 70



## Pakpattan

### Chishtis of Pakpattan

Dynast: Pir Allah Yar Chishti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Allah Yar Chishti	Himself	MPA / 87, MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Pir Kashif Ali	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Vehari

### Chishtis of Vehari

Dynast: Pir Zulfiqar Ali Chishti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Zulfiqar Ali Chishti	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Ghulam Mohyuddin	Son	Prov Minister / 02



## Vehari

### Chohans of Vehari

Dynast: Qurban Ali Chohan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qurban Ali Chohan	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 93
Khalid Mehmood Chohan	Son	MPA / 02



## Rawalpindi

### Colonel Habib's family

Dynast: Colonel (retd) Habib Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Colonel (retd) Habib Ahmad	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Fauzia Habib	Daughter	MPA / 88, MNA / 02, MNA / 08



## Khanewal

### Dahas (Aftab)

Dynast: Ma (retd) Aftab Ahmad Khan Dahi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maj. (Reid) Aftab Ahmad Khan Dahi	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Haji Irfan Ahmad Khan Dahi	Nephew	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97
Riffat Hayat Khan	Brother	MNA / 77

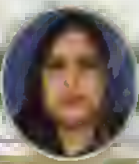


## Khanewal

### Dahas (Nishat)

Dynast: Nishat Ahmad Khan Doha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nishat Ahmad Khan Doha	Himself	MPA / 08
Zahoor Ahmad Khan Doha	Brother	MPA / 02



## Gujranwala

### Dars of Gujranwala

Dynast: Mian Azhar Hassan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Azhar Hassan	Himself	MNA / 77, MPA / 88, Adviser / 93
Mehmood-ul-Hassan Dar	Brother	MPA / 77, MPA / 88
Mian Manzoor Hassan	Uncle	MNA / 70
Mian Saeed Hassan Dar	Son	MPA / 02
Riffat Sultana Dar	Sister-in-law	MPA / 08
Tariq Waheed Butt	Nephew	MPA / 77



## Muzaffargarh

### Dastis

Dynast: Amjad Hameed Khan Dasti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Amjad Hameed Khan Dasti	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, MPA / 02
Begum Tehmina Dasti	Daughter	MNA / 02



## Pakpattan/Sahiwal

### Dewans of Pakpattan

Dynast: Dewan Qutbuddin

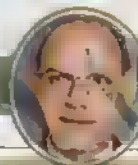
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dewan Azmat Sald M. Chishti	Son	MPA / 97
Mian Ghulam Farid Chishti	Nephew	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 85, Adviser / 88, MPA / 93

## Mianwali/Bhakkar

### Dhandlas

Dynast: Ghulam Hussain Khan Dhandla

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Hussain Khan Dhandla	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
M Zafarullah Khan Dhandla	Son	MPA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 97



## Sheikhupura

### Dhillons of Sheikhupura

Dynast: Brgd. (retd) Zulfiqar Ahmad Dhillon

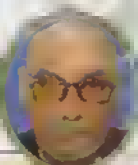
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Brigadier (retd) Zulfiqar Ahmad Dhillon	Himself	MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, MNA / 02
Nisar Ahmad Dhillon	Brother	MPA / 88

## Lahore

### Diyals of Lahore

Dynast: Muhammad Ashiq Diyal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Ashiq Diyal	Himself	MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Navid Ashiq Diyal	Son	MPA / 08
Safdar Ali Diyal	Brother	MPA / 85



## Multan

### Dogars of Multan

Dynast: Malik Salahuddin Dogar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Liaquat Ali Dogar	Brother	MNA / 02
Malik M Amir Dogar	Son	MPA / 08
Malik Salahuddin Dogar	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, Senator / 09, MPA / 88



## Pakpattan

### Dogars of Pakpattan

Dynast: Sardar Mansab Ali Dogar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Mansab Ali Dogar	Himself	MPA / 97, MNA / 08
Sardar Wajid Ali Dogar	Brother	MPA / 08





Gujrat/Rahim Yar Khan

**Chaudhrys of Gujrat (Shujaat Hussain)**

Dynast: Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain	Himself
Fed Minister / 85	
MNA / 88	
Fed Minister, Caretaker Fed Minister / 90	
Senator / 93	
Fed Minister / 97	
Caretaker PM / 02	
Senator / 09	

Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi	Father
MNA; Caretaker Fed Minister / 70	

Chaudhry Wajid Hussain	Brother
MPA / 88	
MPA / 90	
MPA / 97	
MNA / 02	
MNA / 08	

Chaudhry Pervez Elahi	Cousin
Prov Minister / 85	
Prov Minister / 88	
Prov Minister / 90	
Lead Opp-PA / 93	
Speaker-PA / 97	
CM / 02	
Lead Opp-PA / 08	

Chaudhry Moonis Elahi	Nephew
MPA / 08	

Murtaza Elahi Chaudhry	Uncle
MPA / 77	

Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi, a government official-turned-businessman, became a major political player during the 1960s. After facing initial problems, including imprisonment, at the hands of Ayub Khan, he eventually moved closer to the military president, becoming the secretary general of his Convention Muslim League, and purchasing the Progressive Papers Limited (which brought out Pakistan Times and daily Imroz) to put a stop to their critical coverage.

Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi was a major leader of the opposition during the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who instituted many cases against him and put him behind bars for years. The military government of General Ziaul Haq released Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi, but he was killed in 1981 in what is alleged to be an assassination by al-Zulfikar, a militant organisation ostensibly set up by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's son, Mir Murtaza. The next generation of the family, Zahoor Elahi's son Shujaat Hussain and nephew Pervez Elahi, have been in electoral politics since 1985, and since then have only lost twice (in 1993 and 2008) in their home district Gujrat.

Chaudhrys have remained loyal to Nawaz Sharif until 2000, despite occasional grumblings about being ignored. But, in the wake of the 2002 polls, Gen (retd) Pervez Musharraf convinced them to set up Pakistan Muslim League—Quaid-e-Azam (PMLQ) via defections in the Sharif camp. After the 2008 polls, in which PMLQ had managed to retain more than 50 National Assembly seats, Pervez Elahi initially became the Leader of the Opposition. In 2011, PMLQ joined the outgoing coalition government but many of its legislators deserted to join Pakistan Muslim League—Nawaz.

For the May 11 polls, PMLQ has made a seat adjustment deal with Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in many constituencies in central and southern Punjab. In Gujrat, however, Chaudhrys are still facing PPP candidates.



Dera Ghazi Khan

## Legharis of DG Khan

Dynast: Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari

**Begum Afifa Mamdot**  
MPA / 88  
Daughter

**Dr Asma Mamdot**  
MPA / 08  
Grand daughter

**Sardar Mansoor Ahmad Khan Leghari**  
MPA / 90  
MNA / 93  
Senator / 99  
Grandson

**Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari**  
Grandson  
Fed Minister / 77  
Fed Minister / 88  
MNA / 90  
MNA / 93  
MNA / 02  
MNA / 08  
Senator / 77

**Meena Ehsan Leghari**  
MNA / 02  
Grand daughter-in-law

**Sardar M. Jamal Khan Leghari**  
Senator / 12  
Great grandson

**Sardar M. Jafar Khan Leghari**  
Grandson  
MPA / 85  
MPA / 88  
MPA / 93  
MNA / 97  
MNA / 02  
MNA / 08

**Sardar Ata Muhammad Leghari**  
MPA / 73  
Son

**Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari**  
MPA / 70  
Son

**Sardar Usaf M Khan Leghari**  
MPA / 88  
Grandson

**Sardar Awaiz Ahmad Khan Leghari**  
Great Grandson  
MPA / 97  
Fed Minister / 02  
MNA / 08

**Sardar Mansoor Ahmad Khan Leghari**  
Grandson  
Fed Minister / 85  
MPA / 77  
Prov Minister / 93  
MPA / 97  
MPA / 88  
MPA / 90

**Sardar Muhammad Khan Leghari**  
Great grandson  
MPA / 02  
MPA / 08

**Sardar M. Younis Khan Leghari**  
Great grandson  
MPA / 02  
MPA / 08

**Sardar M. Umar Khan Leghari**  
MPA / 85  
Grandson

**Sardar Monnoob Khan Leghari**  
MPA / 70  
Son

An eminent Baloch tribe, Legharis conquered vast lands in Dera Ghazi Khan two centuries ago and made Choti Zaireen village their home. They have been politically active since pre-Partition days with Sardar Jamal Khan having been a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly since before 1947.

Afifa Mamdot, his daughter, and his three sons all followed him successfully in electoral politics. But it was Farooq Leghari, his grandson, whose electoral victories turned the family into a household name in the 1988-1993 period when he became the president of the country. Farooq Leghari, then, played a central role in the 1996 ouster of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) government, which he had represented since the 1970s. He is also said to have ensured - through openly partisan caretaker governments, courts and even the intelligence agencies - that PPP experiences its most crushing electoral defeat in the 1997 poll.

Legharis have had close family ties with the Nawab of Kalabagh's family, whose son, Allahyar, is married to Farooq Leghari's sister. His wife is the niece of former Khyber Pakhtunkhwa chief minister, Aftab Sherpao's.

Before the 2002 polls, Farooq Leghari set up his own Millat Party, which took part in the election as part of a centre-right-nationalist combine, National Alliance. A few years later, National Alliance merged into Muslim League - Qauid-e-Azam, which was backed by Gen (ret'd) Pervez Musharraf. After Farooq Leghari died in 2010, Awaiz Leghari and Jamal Leghari, his sons, first entered Pakistani Tehreek-e-Insaf and then unsuccessfully tried to make their way into Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz. They are now running as independent candidates.





## Ranjanpur

### Dreshaks

Dynast: Sardar Nasrullah Khan Dreshak

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Hajji Ghulam Mujtaba Khan Dreshak	Brother-in-law	MPA / 90
Sardar Hasnain Bahadur Oreshak	Son	Prov Minister / 02
Sardar Nasrullah Khan Oreshak	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77 MPA / 85, Caretaker Prov Minister, Prov Minister / 88 Prov Minister / 90, MNA / 97 MNA / 02



## Multan / Khanewal / Jhang

### Fakhar Imam's family

Dynast: Fakhar Imam

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr. Syed Khawar Ali Shah	Cousin	MPA / 77, MPA / 85 MPA / 88, MPA / 90 MPA / 97
Syed Fakhar Imam Shah	Himself	Caretaker Fed Minister, Speaker-NA / 85 Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 97
Syeda Abida Hussain	Wife	MNA / 85, Fed Minister, Caretaker Fed Minister / 97 MNA: Caretaker Fed Minister / 88, MPA / 70
Syeda Sughra Imam	Daughter	Prov Minister / 02, Senator / 09



## Muzaffargarh

### Farooq Khar's family

Dynast: Malik Farooq Khar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Farooq Khar	Himself	MPA / 97
Malik Jawad Kamran Khar	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Toba Tek Singh

### Gadhis of Toba Tek Singh

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Murad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lt Col (ret'd) Sardar M Ayub Khan	Son	MPA / 08
Sardar M Masood Khan	Son	MPA / 97
Sardar M Murad Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88 Adviser / 90, MPA / 93

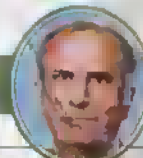


## Bahawalpur

### Gardezis of Bahawalpur

Dynast: Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ahmad Nawaz Gardezi	Uncle	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Syed Bushra Nawaz Gardezi	Daughter	MPA / 08
Syed Irfan Ahmad Gardezi	Cousin	MPA / 97,
Syed Salman Ahmad Gardezi	Cousin	MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Syed Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi	Himself	State Minister / 85, MNA / 88 Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 02
Syeda Bushra Nawaz Gardezi	Daughter	Prov Minister / 02



## Multan / Khanewal

### Gardezis of Khanewal

Dynast: Syed Abbas Hussain Shah Gardezi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Abbas Hussain Shah Gardezi	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Syed Hussain Jahanain Gardezi	Nephew	Prov Minister / 83, Prov Minister / 02



## Lahore / Toba Tek Singh / Rawalpindi

### General Ziaul Haq's family

Dynast: General Ziaul Haq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dr M Anwarul Haq	Son	Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 93 MPA / 97
Dr Basharat Elahi	Brother-in-law	Senator / 88
M Ijazul Haq	Son	Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93 MNA / 97, MNA / 02
Mian Abdul Waheed	Cousin	MNA / 90, MNA / 93 MNA / 97



## Muzaffargarh

### Ghulam Abbas Qureshi's family

Dynast: Mian Ghulam Abbas Qureshi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Ghulam Abbas Qureshi	Himself	MPA / 70, MNA / 97
M Amjad Abbas Qureshi	Son	Senator / 03



Narowal / Sialkot

### Ghulam Ahmad Khan's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Ghulam Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ghulam Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90 MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Chaudhry M Sarwar Khan	Brother	MNA / 85, MNA / 90 MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Awais Qasim Khan	Son	MPA / 08



Gujranwala

### Ghulam Dastgir Khan's family

Dynast: Ghulam Dastgir Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Dastgir Khan	Himself	MNA, Caretaker Fed Minister / 77, MNA / 90, MNA / 93 MNA / 97
Engineer Khuram Dastgir Khan	Son	MNA / 08



Faisalabad

### Ghulam Nabi's family

Dynast: Ghulam Nabi Chaudhry

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Nabi Chaudhry	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Chaudhry Khalid Mehmood	Nephew	MPA / 90, MPA / 02



Rawalpindi

### Ghulam Sarwar Khan's family

Dynast: Ghulam Sarwar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Sarwar Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90 Prov Minister / 93, Fed Minister / 02 MPA / 88
M Shafiq Khan	Brother	MPA / 08



Kasur

### Ghurala of Gujrat

Dynast: Chaudhry Asghar Ghural

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry M Ilyas Khan	Cousin	Adviser / 88, MPA / 90 MPA / 02
Khalid Javed Asghar Ghural	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Lahore

### Ghurki

Dynast: Haji Muhammad Asghar Ghurki

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Asghar Ghurki	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88
Chaudhry Khalid Javed Ghurki	Son	MNA / 93
Farooq Yousaf Ghurki	Nephew	Prov Minister / 08
Haji Arshad Ghurki	Son	MNA / 88
M Iqbal Ghurki	Cousin	Prov Minister / 93
Samina Khalid Ghurki	Daughter-in-law	MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08

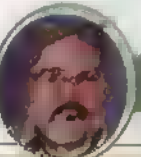


Okara

### Gilani of Atzaal Shah Mugeem

Dynast: Syed Atzaal Ali Shah Gilani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Atzaal Ali Shah Gilani	Himself	Prov Minister / 85, Prov Minister / 88 MPA / 90, MPA / 93 Prov Minister / 97
Syed Raza Ali Gilani	Son	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08



Bahawalpur

### Gilani of Uda Sharif

Dynast: Makhdoom Syed Iftikhar Hassan Gillani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Syed Iftikhar Hassan Gillani	Himself	Adviser / 02, MPA / 08, MPA / 97
Makhdoomzada Syed Ali Hassan Gillani	Nephew	MNA / 02



## Bahawalpur

### Gilts of Bahawalpur

**Dynast: Muhammad Afzal Gill**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Atzal Gill	Himself	MPA / 97
M Safdar Gill	Brother	MPA / 08



## Sheikhupura

### Gilts of Sheikhupura

**Dynast: Shahid Manzoor Gill**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Javed Manzoor Gill	Brother	MPA / 02
Shahid Manzoor Gill	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97



## Mandi Bahauddin

### Gondals of Bolra

**Dynast: Nazar Muhammad Gondal**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Major (retd) Zulfikar Ali Gondal	Brother	MNA / 02, MPA / 08
Nazar M Gondal	Himself	MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 08



## Mandi Bahauddin

### Gondals of Malakwal

**Dynast: Muhammad Afzal Chan**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Major (retd) Ehsan Elahi Chaudhry	Nephew	MPA / 02
M Afzal Chan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Nadeem Afzal Gondal	Son	MNA / 08
Waseem Afzal Gondal	Son	MPA / 08

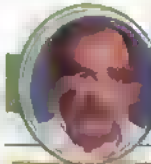


## Muzaffargarh

### Gopangs

**Dynast: Sardar Ashiq Hussain Gopang**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Aamir Tatal Gopang	Son	MPA / 08
Sardar Ashiq Hussain Gopang	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97



## Mandi Bahauddin

### Gondals of Mandi Bahauddin

**Dynast: M Arif Gondal Chhimmadvna**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ahmad Yar Gondal	Father	MPA / 93
Chaudhry Sultan Mehmood Gondal	Uncle	MPA / 97
M Arif Gondal Chhimmadvna	Himself	MPA / 02

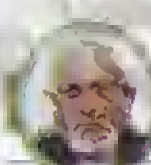


## Women/Bahm Yar Khan/Gujrat

### Gujars of Chailanwala

**Dynast: Chaudhry Jaffar Iqbal Gujjar**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Begum Ishrat Ashraf	Wife	MNA / 85, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Ch M Ashraf	Father in law	Senator / 75
Chaudhry Jaffar Iqbal Gujjar	Himself	Adviser / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Senator / 13
Chaudhry M Iqbal Gujjar	Father	MPA / 77, MNA / 85
Chaudhry Nasir Iqbal Gujjar	Brother	MNA / 90
Chuadhry Shafqat Mahmood	Cousin	Senator / 94
Zaib Jaffer	Daughter	MPA / 08



## Gujranwala

### Gujars of Gujranwala

**Dynast: Bashir Ahmad Gujjar**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Bashir Ahmad Gujjar	Himself	MPA / 93
Chaudhry Irfan Bashir Gujjar	Son	MPA / 08



## Sheikhupura

### Gujars of Muridke

**Dynast: Chaudhry Bashir Ahmad**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Bashir Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93
Manzoor Hussain	Cousin	MNA / 77
Mushtaq Ahmad	Brother	MPA / 02

## Sargodha

## Gujars of Sargodha

Dynast: Sardar Saghir Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Kamal Gujar	Nephew	MPA / 08
Sardar Saghir Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77

## Sheikhupura

## Gulfam Ashraf's family

Dynast: M Gulfam Ashraf

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Gulfam Ashraf	Himself	MPA / 85
M Khurram Gulfam	Son	MPA / 08

## Faisalabad / Toba Tek Singh

## Haji Ishaq's family

Dynast: Haji Muhammad Ishaq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Bashir Ahmad	Nephew	MNA / 77
Haji M Ishaq	Himself	Prov Minister / 08, MNA / 88

## Sheikhupura

## Haji Muhammad Nawaz's family

Dynast: Haji M Nawaz

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ghulam Nabi	Brother	MPA / 08
Haji M Nawaz	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97

## Gujrat

## Haji Nasir Mehmood's family

Dynast: Haji Imam Zafar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Nasir Mehmood	Himself	MPA / 08
Haji Imam Zafar	Son	MPA / 08

## Kasur/Lahore

## Haji Sardar Khan's family

Dynast: Haji Sardar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Sardar Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Malik Ahmad Saeed Khan	Nephew	MPA / 02
Malik Muhammad Ahmad Khan	Nephew	MPA / 02
Malik Muhammad Ali Khan	Brother-in-law	MPA / 70, Senator / 88, Dep Ch Sanate / 85
Malik Rashid Ahmad Khan	Brother	MPA / 97

## Lahore

## Haji Sharifs family

Dynast: Haji Muhammad Sharif

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Muhammad Sharif	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Muhammad Ajasim Sharif	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08

## Faisalabad / Toba Tek Singh

## Haji Shaukat Ali's family

Dynast: Haji Shaukat Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Shaukat Ali	Himself	MPA / 70
Liaquat Ali Shaukat	Son	MPA / 02

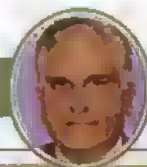
## Kasur

## Hakim Ali's family

Dynast: Hakim Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Hakim Ali	Himself	MPA / 85
Tariq Hakim Ali	Son	MPA / 97





Sialkot

## Hamid Nawaz Khan's family

Dynast: Hamid Nawaz Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Hamid Nawaz Khan	Himself	MNA / 77, Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 88
Zahid Hamid Khan	Son	Fed Minister / 02, MNA / 08



Muzaffargarh

## Hanjras

Dynast: Malik Sultan Mehmood Hanjra

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Sultan Mehmood Hanjra	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Malik Ahmad Yar Hanjra	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Multan

## Hashmis of Multan

Dynast: Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Muhammad Javed Hashmi	Himself	Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 85, State Minister / 90, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 97, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Maimoona Hashmi	Daughter	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Khanewal

## Hirajs (Allah Yar)

Dynast: Sardar Allah Yar Khan Hiraj

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Allah Yar Khan Hiraj	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Hamid Yar Hiraj	Son	State Minister / 02, MNA / 08
Mahr M Iqbal Hiraj	Cousin	MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Sardar Muhammad Yar Hiraj	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08

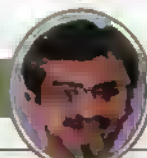


Khanewal

## Hirajs (Khizar)

Dynast: Haji Khizar Hayat Khan Hiraj

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Khizar Hayat Khan Hiraj	Himself	MPA / 97
Amir Hayat Hiraj	Nephew	MPA / 08

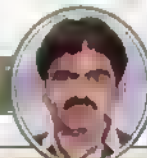


Sheikhupura

## Ijaz Chattha's family

Dynast: Ijaz Ahmad Chattha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ijaz Ahmad Chattha	Himself	MPA / 90
Khuram Ijaz Chattha	Son	MPA / 08



Faisalabad

## Ilyas Jatti's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Ilyas Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Ilyas Ahmad	Himself	MNA / 93
Dr Nisar Ahmad Jatt	Son-in-law	MNA / 02



Faisalabad

## Imtiaz Ahmad Gill's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Imtiaz Ahmad Gill

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Imtiaz Ahmad Gill	Himself	MNA / 77
Jahanzeb Imtiaz Gill	Son	MPA / 02



Muzaffargarh

## Imtiaz Aleem Qureshi's family

Dynast: Imtiaz Aleem Qureshi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Imtiaz Aleem Qureshi	Himself	MPA / 02
Muhammad Imran Qureshi	Son	MPA / 08



Lahore

### Iqbal Ahmad Khan's family

Dynast: Iqbal Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Iqbal Ahmad Khan	Himself	Fed Minister / 85, Senator / 92
Farah Iqbal Khan	Daughter	MPA / 02

Bahawalnagar

### Iqbal Khan's family

Dynast: Muhammad Iqbal Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Iqbal Khan	Himself	MPA / 70
Muhammad Sardar Khan Wattoo	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 97



Lahore/Women

### Islamuddin's family

Dynast: Islamuddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Islamuddin	Himself	MPA / 70
Saghira Islam	Wife	MPA / 02, MPA / 08, MPA / 88



Faisalabad

### Ittelaq family

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Shafi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abid Sher Ali	Grandson	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Chaudhry Sher Ali	Son-in-law	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Sohail Zia Butt	Son-in-law	MPA / 90
Umer Sohail Zia Butt	Grandson	MNA / 08



Jhang

### Jabboanas

Dynast: Ghazanfar Ali Khan Jabboana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghazanfar Ali Khan Jabboana	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Faisal Hayat Jabboana	Son	MPA / 02



Jhang

### Janjuas

Dynast: Riaz Hashmat Janjua

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Riaz Hashmat Janjua	Himself	MPA / 85, Adviser / 93
Zahoor Ahmad Sajid Janjua	Brother	MPA / 02



Muzaffargarh

### Jatois of Alipur (1)

Dynast: Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoli

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Qayyum Khan Jatoli	Himself	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08, MPA / 08
Madvzam Ali Khan Jatoli	Brother-in-law	State Minister / 08
Sardar Nazar Muhammad Jatoli	Father	MPA / 70, MPA / 85, MPA / 88, Adviser / 90, MPA / 93



Muzaffargarh

### Jatois of Alipur (2)

Dynast: Rasool Bakhsh Khan Jatoli

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rasool Bakhsh Khan Jatoli	Himself	MPA / 93
Shehzad Rasool Khan	Son	MPA / 08
Yasir Arafat Khan	Brother	MPA / 02



Lodhran

### Jolyas of Lodhran

Dynast: Shah Muhammad Khan Malik Jolya

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shah Muhammad Khan Malik Jolya	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 85
Major (retd) Aslam Khan Jolya	Nephew	MPA / 97
Malik Sajjad Hussain Khan Jolya	Son	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Malik M Amjad Jolya	Nephew	MPA / 02





Vehari

### Jatts of Vehari

Dynast: Chaudhry Nazir Ahmad Jatt

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Asghar Ali Jatt	Nephew	MNA / 08
Chaudhry Nazir Ahmad Jatt	Himself	MNA / 02, MNA / 08

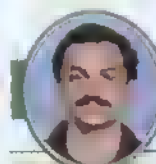


Mianwali

### Joiyas of Mianwali

Dynast: Malik Ghulam Shabbir Joiya

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Ghulam Shabbir Joiya	Himself	MPA / 85, Adviser / 88, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
M Faroz Joiya	Son	MPA / 08



Pakpattan / Sahiwal

### Joiyas of Pakpattan

Dynast: Mian M Amjad Joya

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian M Amjad Joya	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MNA / 93
Mian M Ashraf Joya	Brother	MPA / 90
Dr Junaid Mumtaz Joya	Cousin	MNA / 02



Gujranwala

### Juliuses

Dynast: Father Rufin Julius

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Father Rufin Julius	Himself	State Minister / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Joyce Rufin Julius	Wife	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08



Toba Tek Singh / Vehari

### Junaid Anwaar's family

Dynast: M Junaid Anwaar Chaudhry

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Junaid Anwaar Chaudhry	Himself	MNA / 08
Waqar Azeem	Cousin	MPA / 88



Lahore

### Justice Zahid Bokhari's family

Dynast: Justice Zahid Bokhari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Azma Zahid Bokhari	Daughter	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Samiullah Khan	Son-in-law	MPA / 02



Sargodha

### Kahloons of Sargodha

Dynast: Mumtaz Ahmad Kahloon

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mumtaz Ahmad Kahloon	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77
Ijaz Ahmad Kahloon	Brother	MPA / 08



Gujrat

### Kairas of Lala Musa (1)

Dynast: Haji M Asghar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Asghar	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 93
M Zaman Kaira	Brother	MPA / 77
Qamar Zaman Kaira	Nephew	MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08

Gujrat

### Kairas of Lala Musa (2)

Dynast: Chaudhry M Aslam Kaira

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry M Aslam Kaira	Himself	MPA / 90
Tanvir Ashraf Kaira	Nephew	MPA / 02, Prov Minister / 08



Sargodha

### Kalyars of Sargodha

Dynast: Haji M Ashraf Kalyar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Ashraf Kalyar	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 97
Major Asghar Hayat Kalyar	Brother	Adviser / 02
Mian M Khalid Kalyar	Cousin	MPA / 02



Lodhran / Multan

## Kanjoos of Lodhran

Dynast: Muhammad Siddiq Khan Kanjoo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Akhtar Khan Kanjoo	Brother-in-law	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
M Siddiq Khan Kanjoo	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88 MNA / 90, State Minister / 97



Lahore / Kasur

## Kardars

Dynast: Abdul Hafeez Kardar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Hafeez Kardar	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77
Khalid Latif Kardar	Cousin	MNA / 77, MPA / 88

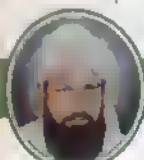


Kasur / Lahore

## Kasuris

Dynast: Mian Mehmood Ali Kasuri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri	Son	MNA / 97, Fed Minister / 02
Mian Mehmood Ali Kasuri	Himself	Fed Minister / 70



Bahawalnagar

## Khadim Wattoo's family

Dynast: M Akhtar Khadim  
alias Khadim Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Fida Hussain Wattoo	Brother	MPA / 08
Muhammad Akhtar Khadim alias Khadim Hussain	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88 MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 02 MNA / 08



Sahiwal / Pakpattan

## Khaggas

Dynast: Walayat Shah Khagga

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Ahmad Shah Khagga	Cousin	MPA / 77, MPA / 85 MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Pir Khizer Hayat Shah Khagga	Son	MPA / 08
Pir M Shah Khagga	Brother-in-law	MPA / 85, MPA / 88 MPA / 90, MPA / 93 MNA / 02
Walayat Shah Khagga	Himself	MPA / 02, MPA / 08 MPA / 88, MPA / 93



Vehari

## Khan Bhabha's family

Dynast: Khan M Bhabha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khan M Khokhar	Himself	MPA / 70
M Naeem Akhar Khan	Son	MPA / 08



Toba Tek Singh

## Khalid Kharal's family

Dynast: Khalid Ahmad Khan Kharal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Javed Ahmad Khan Kharal	Brother	MPA / 77
Khalid Ahmad Khan Kharal	Himself	Fed Minister / 93

## Sargodha

### Laks of Sargodha

Dynast: Mehar Khuda Dad Khan Lak

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehar Khuda Dad Khan Lak	Himself	MNA / 77, Senator / 85, Senator / 88
Mehar Ghulam Dastgir Lak	Co-father in law	Prov Minister / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93
Ahmad Zia-ur-Rehman Lak	Nephew	MNA / 93



Attock

## Khattars of Attock

Dynast: Sardar Shaukat Hayat

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Shaukat Hayat	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan	Son	MPA / 88, Adviser / 93





Attock

## Khanzadas of Attock

Dynast: Taj M Khanzada

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Col (retd) Shuja Khanzada	Nephew	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08
Taj M Khanzada	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97



Vehari

## Khichis of Vehari

Dynast: M Nawaz Khan alias Dilawar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Jehanzeb Khan Khichi	Son	MPA / 08
Sardar M Khan Khichi	Cousin	MPA / 08
M Nawaz Khan alias Dilawar Khan	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Khan Aftab Ahmad Khan Khichi	Nephew	MNA / 02



Dera Ghazi Khan

## Khosas of DG Khan

Dynast: Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Atta M Khosa	Uncle	MPA / 70
Dost M Khosa	Son	MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 08
Sardar Hassamuddin Khan Khosa	Son	MPA / 08
Sardar M Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa	Cousin	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 08
Sardar Mohsin Atta Khan	Cousin	MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Sardar M Saifuddin Khan Khosa	Son	Prov Minister / 08
Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khan Khosa	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 85, MPA / 97, Senator / 12, Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 08
Sardar M Amjad Farooq Khan Khosa	Cousin	MNA / 90, MNA / 97



Lahore

## Khokhars of Lahore

Dynast: Malik Karamat Ali Khokhar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Karamat Ali Khokhar	Himself	MPA / 93
Adv Malik Zaheer Abbas	Nephew	MNA / 02



Okara

## Khokhars of Okara

Dynast: Malik M Abbas Khan Khokhar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Ali Abbas Khokhar	Son	MPA / 08
Malik M Abbas Khan Khokhar	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Malik Nazar Farid Khokhar	Brother-in-law	MPA / 02



Lahore

## Khwaja Rafique's family

Dynast: Khwaja Muhammad Rafique

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Begum Farhat Khawaja Rafiq	Wife	MPA / 85
Ghazala Saad Rafique	Daughter-in-law	MPA / 08
Khwaja Saad Rafique	Son	MPA / 97, MPA / 02, MPA / 08, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Saiman Rafique	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Sialkot

## Khwajas of Sialkot

Dynast: Khwaja M Asif

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khwaja M Sardar	Father	MNA / 85, Senator / 73
Khwaja M Asif	Himself	MNA / 93, MNA / 97, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Farooq Hamid Naek	Brother-in-law	Senator / 03, Senator / 09



**Dera Ghazi Khan**

### Khawajas of Taunsa

**Dynast: Khwaja Kamaluddin Anwar**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khwaja Ghulam Sufeman	Cousin	MNA / 70
Khwaja Kamaluddin Anwar	Himself	MNA / 88, MNA / 93, Senator / 85
Khwaja Sheeraz Mehmood	Son	MNA / 02, State Minister / 08
Khwaja Ghulam Moeenuddin	Cousin	MNA / 85

**Rahim Yar Khan**

### Korejas of Rahim Yar Khan

**Dynast: Khwaja M Asghar Koreja**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khwaja Ghulam M Aqil Koreja	Nephew	MPA / 93
Khwaja Jamal M Koreja	Cousin	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Khwaja M Asghar Koreja	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90



**Gujrat**

### Lal Khan's family

**Dynast: Lal Khan**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lal Khan	Himself	MPA / 70
Tariq Mehmood Allaona	Son	MPA / 08



**Gujranwala**

### Lalas of Gujranwala

**Dynast: Lala M Fazil**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lala M Fazil	Himself	MPA / 88
Lala Shakeel ur Rehman	Nephew	MPA / 02



**Rahim Yar Khan**

### Langahs

**Dynast: Sardar Zafar Ali Khan Langah**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghazanfar Ali Khan Langah	Son	MPA / 08
Sardar Zafar Ali Khan Langah	Himself	MPA / 77



**Jhang**

### Lalis

**Dynast: Dost M Lali**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Dost M Lali	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Imtiaz Ahmad Lali	Son	MPA / 97, MPA / 02
Muhammad Masood Lali	Nephew	MPA / 08

**Bhakkar**

### Khans of Bhakkar

**Dynast: Abdul Majeed Khanankhel**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Majeed Khanankhel	Himself	MNA / 08
M Zafarullah Khanankhel	Brother	MNA / 88, MNA / 93

**Sahiwal**

### Langriyals

**Dynast: Malik Iqbal Ahmad Langriyal**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Iqbal Ahmad Langriyal	Himself	MPA / 08, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93,
Malik Nauman Ahmad Langriyal	Son	MPA / 02, State Minister / 08

**Sahiwal**

### Lateef Mughal's family

**Dynast: Lateef Mughal**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lateef Mughal	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 88
Munawar Sagheer	Sister	MPA / 2002



**Muzaffargarh**

### Legharis of Muzaffargarh

**Dynast: Haji M Iqbal Leghari**

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji M Iqbal Leghari	Himself	MPA / 90
Allah Wasaya alias Chunnu Khan Leghari	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08

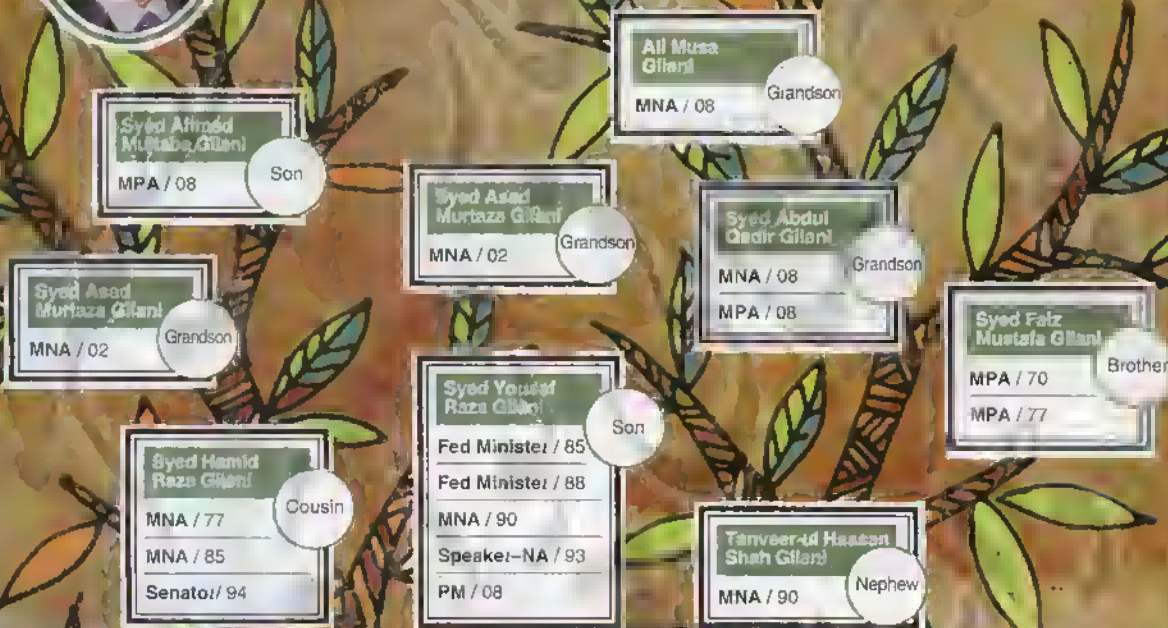




Multan

## Gilanis of Multan

Dynast: Syed Alamdar Gilani



Gilanis of Multan are the descendants of the 16th century saint Moosa Pak who is buried in Multan. They have always vied with other feudal families of their area to gain an upper hand in politics. In the 1950s, the impetus was with them when Yousuf Raza Gilani's father, Alamdar Hussain Gilani, was in the federal cabinet. But in 1958, he became a victim of Ayub Khan's disqualification laws and Qureshis, who had joined the official Convention Muslim League, left them behind. Even in the 1970s, Alamdar Hussain Gilani and his cousin Hamid Raza Gilani were in the opposition camp while their rival Qureshis were in power.

One man, Yousuf Raza Gilani, was to change all this. Since his emergence on the electoral scene in the 1980s, he has been a central figure in Multan's politics even when in the opposition. In the 1985 assemblies, he was a contender for the post of chief minister Punjab mainly because of his family ties with the main power broker of the time, Pir Pagara, who was married to his maternal aunt. But the position eluded him and landed in Nawaz Sharif's lap. Before the 1988 polls, he joined the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), famously defeating Sharif from a Multan constituency. Since then, Yousuf Raza Gilani has been in the party's inner circle and was rewarded for his loyalty when he was preferred over the likes of Makhdoom Amin Faheem and Shah Mehmood Qureshi for the post of prime minister in 2008.

His other achievement is to introduce many members of his family – sons, brother, nephew – into electoral politics over the last decade or so. He is not a candidate for the 2013 elections, having been disqualified for committing contempt of court, but his two sons and a younger brother are running on PPP tickets.



Muzaffargarh

## Khars

Dynast: Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar

Ghulam Muhammad  
Mustafa Khar

MNA / 70  
MNA / 85

Brother

Malik Ghulam  
Mustafa Khar

MNA / 70  
MNA / 88  
Caretaker Fed  
Minister; MNA / 90  
Fed Minister / 93

Himself

Ghulam Muhammad  
Noor Rabbani Khar

MPA / 85  
Prov Minister / 88  
MNA / 90  
MPA / 90  
MNA / 97

Brother

Ghulam Muhammad  
Mustafa Khar

MNA / 85

Brother

Malik Bilal  
Ahmad Khar

MPA / 93  
MPA / 08

Son

Malik Abdul  
Rehman Khar

Prov Minister / 93

Son

Hina Rabbani  
Khar

State Minister / 02  
Fed Minister / 08

Niece

Sumaira  
Khar

MPA / 90

Sister-in-law

Safina Safina  
Khar

MPA / 08

Sister-in-law

Ghulam Muhammad  
Pakhar-e-Rasool  
Azab Khar

MNA / 93

Brother

Malik Tahir Sultan  
Mustafa Khar

MPA / 93

Nephew

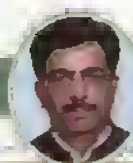
Ghulam Mustafa Khar once went by the title of Sher-e-Punjab. He served as both the governor and the chief minister of the province during Pakistan Peoples Party's (PPP) first tenure in power (1972-1977). He had the reputation of being tough in administration but also reckless in personal life which, in a perverse way, added to his macho image. His former wife Tehmeem Durrani wrote a damning memoir of her life with him in her book *My Feudal Lord*.

He is also known for his relationship with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, frequently alternating between extreme closeness and intense differences. When Bhutto's government was overthrown in 1977, Ghulam Mustafa Khar left Pakistan for London, allegedly to quell PPP's opposition to Ziaul Haq's military regime but he started opposing the military regime after he reached there. He came back to Pakistan in 1986 and founded National Peoples Party along with his friend Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. After the 1988 polls, which he fought and won from the platform of his own party, he briefly rejoined PPP but was never welcomed by the party's leaders and activists. In 1993, he joined PPP one more time and became federal minister for water and power.

His brothers, nephews and sons have contested and won many elections from their stronghold Muzaffargarh but the most prominent among them in recent times has been his niece Hina Rabbani Khar. As foreign minister in the last two years of the outgoing government, she has been in the national and international limelight quite often.

For the May 11 polls, Ghulam Mustafa Khar is again in the run for a National Assembly seat as an independent. Hina Rabbani Khar's father, Noor Rabbani Khar, is also in the fray from a neighbouring constituency on a PPP ticket.





Sialkot

### Liaqat Ali Ghuman's family

Dynast: Liaqat Ali Ghuman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Liaqat Ali Ghuman	Himself	MPA / 08
Jamil Ashrat	Son-in-law	MPA / 08



Multan / Khanewal

### Maitlas

Dynast: Malik Arshad Hussain Maitla

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Arshad Hussain Maitla	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Malik Ghulam Murtaza Maitla	Brother	MPA / 97, MNA / 02



Jhelum / Chakwal

### Majeed Malik's family

Dynast: Lt Gen (retd) Malik Abdul Majeed

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lt Gen (retd) Malik Abdul Majeed	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, Caretaker Fed Minister, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 97
Major (retd) Tahir Iqbal	Nephew	MNA / 02



Rahim Yar Khan

### Makhdooms of Jamaiddinwalli

Dynast: Makhdoom Syed Ahmad Mehmood

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Syed Ahmad Mehmood	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 08, Gov / 13, Lead Opp-PA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Makhdoom Syed Ali Akbar Mehmood	Brother	MPA / 88, Adviser / 90, MPA / 93,
Makhdoomzada Syed Hassan Mehmood	Father	MPA / 85, MPA / 70,
Syed Mustafa Mahmood	Son	MPA / 08
Jehangir Khan Tareen	Brother in law	Fed Minister / 02, MNA / 08

Rahim Yar Khan

### Makhdooms of Mianwali Qureshiyan (1)

Dynast: Makhdoom Noor Muhammad Hashmi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Noor Muhammad Hashmi	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Makhdoom Imdaduddin	Brother	MNA / 85, MNA / 97
Makhdoom Musharrat Hussain	Brother	MPA / 90



Rahim Yar Khan

### Makhdooms of Mianwali Qureshiyan (2)

Dynast: Makhdoom Hameeduddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Hameeduddin	Himself	MPA / 70, Fed Minister / 77, Senator / 88
Makhdoom Shahabuddin	Son	MNA / 90, Fed Minister / 93, Fed Minister / 08
Makhdoom Ruknuddin	Brother	MNA / 88
Makhdoom Aliat Ahmad	Son-in-law	Prov Minister / 85, MPA / 93, MPA / 88
Makhdoom Ashfaq Ahmad	Nephew	Prov Minister / 93, Prov Minister / 02
Makhdoom Khusroo Bakhtiar	Nephew	MPA / 97, State Minister / 02
Makhdoom Muhammad Irtaza Hashmi	Grandson	MPA / 08



Sialkot

### Mathis of Sialkot

Dynast: Sikandar Hayat Malhi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sikandar Hayat Malhi	Himself	MPA / 90, MNA / 97
Ali Asjad Malhi	Nephew	MNA / 02



Lahore

### Malik Akhtar's family

Dynast: Malik Muhammad Akhtar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Muhammad Akhtar	Himself	Fed Minister, State Minister / 70, MNA / 77
Ahad Malik	Cousin	MPA / 02

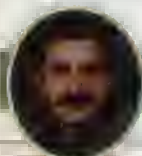


Attock

## Malik Allah Yar's family

Dynast: Malik Allah Yar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Allah Yar Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 02
Malik Aitbar Khan	Son	MPA / 08



Rawalpindi

## Malik Ghulam Raza's family

Dynast: Malik Ghulam Raza

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Ghulam Raza	Himself	MPA / 08
Yasir Raza Malik	Son	MPA / 08



Attock

## Malik Hakmeen's family

Dynast: Malik Hakmeen Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Hakmeen Khan	Himself	Prov Minister / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 88, Senator / 94
Shahan Malik	Son	MPA / 08



Sargodha / Khushab

## Malik Naeem's family

Dynast: Malik Muhammad Naeem Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Muhammad Naeem Khan	Himself	Fed Minister / 85, MNA / 88, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93
Farhana Afzal	Niece	MPA / 08
Malik Umer Aslam	Nephew	MNA / 97



Rahim Yar Khan

## Malik Tariq Muslim's family

Dynast: Tariq Muslim

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Tariq Muslim	Himself	MPA / 77
Lubna Tariq	Wife	MPA / 02
Saeed Manzar	Brother	MPA / 85



Faisalabad

## Malik Yousaf's family

Dynast: Malik Yousaf

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Yousaf	Himself	MPA / 85
Malik Muhammad Nawaz	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Rawalpindi

## Maliks of Rawalpindi

Dynast: Malik Abrar Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Abrar Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 02, MNA / 08
Malik Iftikhar Ahmad	Brother	MPA / 08



Attock

## Maliks of Shamsabad

Dynast: Malik Muhammad Aslam

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Muhammad Aslam	Himself	MNA / 85, MPA / 77, MNA / 88
Malik Amin Aslam Khan	Son	MNA / 02



Vehari

## Manais

Dynast: Saeed Ahmad Khan Manais

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Saeed Ahmad Khan Manais	Himself	Prov Minister / 85, Prov Minister / 88, Speaker-PA / 90, Lead Opp-PA / 97
Asif Saeed Khan Manais	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Sahiwal / Pakpattan

## Manekas of Pakpattan

Dynast: Mian Ghulam M Ahmad Khan Maneka

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Ghulam M Ahmad Khan Maneka	Himself	Fed Minister / 85, Fed Minister / 88, MPA / 77
Ahmed Raza Maneka	Son	MNA / 02
Mian Gohar Farid Ahmad Khan Maneka	Nephew	MPA / 90





## Sheikhupura

### Manjs of Sheikhupura

Dynast: Munawar Hussain Manj

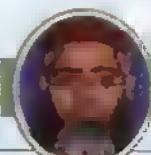
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Munawar Hussain Manj	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 03, MNA / 93
Khurram Munawar Manj	Son	MNA / 02

## Lahore

### Mansoor Malik's family

Dynast: Mansoor Malik

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mansoor Malik	Himself	MPA / 77
Begum Zubaida Mansoor Malik	Wife	MPA / 88



## Jhang

### Maulanas of Chiniot

Dynast: Maulana Manzoor Ahmad Chinioti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulana Manzoor Ahmad Chinioti	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 97
M Ilyas Chinioti	Son	MPA / 08



## Dera Ghazi Khan

### Mazaris

Dynast: Mir Balakh Sher Khan Mazari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mir Balakh Sher Khan Mazari	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 85, MPA / 70, MNA / 90, MNA / 93
Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari	Brother	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Riaz Mehmood Khan Mazari	Son	MPA / 85
Zahid Mehmood Mazari	Son	Prov Minister / 93
Sardar Saleem Jan Khan Mazari	Nephew	MNA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 97, MNA / 02
Farhat Aziz Mazari	Nephew	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Mir Dost Mazari	Grandson	State Minister / 08



## Faisalabad

### Mazhar Ali Gill's family

Dynast: Mazhar Ali Gill

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mazhar Ali Gill	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Chaudhry Arif Mehmood Gill	Son	MPA / 02



## Rawalpindi

### Mehreen Anwar Raja's family

Dynast: Mehreen Anwar Raja

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mehreen Anwar Raja	Herself	MNA / 02, State Minister; MNA / 08
Raja M Shafqat Abbasi	Brother -In-law	MPA / 02



## Sargodha

### Melas

Dynast: Chaudhry Qadir Bakhsh Mela

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Qadir Bakhsh Mela	Himself	Fed Minister / 88, MNA / 90
Chaudhry Ghias Ahmad Mela	Nephew	MNA / 97, MNA / 02, State Minister / 08



## Faisalabad

### Mian Abdul Bari's family

Dynast: Mian Abdul Bari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Ghulam Haider Bari	Grandson	MPA / 02
Major (retd) Moeenuddin Bari	Son	MNA / 77

## Lahore

### Mian Amiruddin's family

Dynast: Khwaja Ahmad Tariq Raheem

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khwaja Ahmad Tariq Raheem	Himself	Fed Minister / 88
Rafia Tariq Raheem	Wife	MNA / 85
Mian Salahuddin	Uncle	MNA / 77
Mian Yousaf Salahuddin	Cousin	MPA / 88

## Multan / Vehari

### Mian Khurshid Anwar's family

Dynast: Mian Khurshid Anwar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Khurshid Anwar	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
M Saqlb Khurshid	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 97



## Narowal

### Mian M Rashid's family

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Rashid

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian M Rashid	Himself	Adviser / 93
Sumaira Naz	Daughter -in-law	MNA / 08



## Vehari

### Mian Mahfooz Ahmad's family

Dynast: Mian Mahfooz Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Mahfooz Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Mian Majid Nawaz	Son	MPA / 02
Mian Zahid Nawaz	Son	MPA / 97



## Faisalabad

### Mian M Farooq's family

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Farooq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian M Farooq	Himself	MPA / 65, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MNA / 97
Afshan Farooq	Daughter	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Vehari

### Mian Mumtaz Khan Bhabha's family

Dynast: Mian M Mumtaz Khan Bhabha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian M Mumtaz Khan Bhabha	Himself	MNA / 88
Mian M Noor Khan Bhabha	Brother	MNA / 93



## Vehari

### Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana's family

Dynast: Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Mumtaz Khan Daultana	Himself	MNA / 70
Mian Javed Mumtaz Khan Daultana	Son	MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MPA / 93



## Faisalabad

### Mian Nasir Ali Khan's family

Dynast: Mian Nasir Ali Khan Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Nasir Ali Khan Baloch	Himself	State Minister / 85, MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Rajab Ali Khan Baloch	Son	MNA / 02



## Okara

### Mians of Okara

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Zaman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Muhammad Zaman	Himself	State Minister; MNA / 85, Fed Minister; MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Mian Yawar Zaman	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Sargodha

### Midhanas of Sargodha

Dynast: M Aslam Midhana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Aslam Midhana	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93,
Chaudhry M Awais Aslam Midhana	Son	MPA / 08



## Bahawalnagar

### Mohais of Bahawalnagar

Dynast: Manzoor Ahmad Mohai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Manzoor Ahmad Mohai	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Dep Speaker-PA / 93
Asif Manzoor Mohai	Son	MPA / 08



## Jhang

### Maulanas of Jamia Muhammadi Sharif

Dynast: Maulana Muhammad Zakir

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Maulana M Zakir	Himself	MNA / 70
Maulana Haji Rehmatullah	Son	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 97



## Gujranwala

### Mughals of Gujranwala

Dynast: Abdul Rauf Mughal

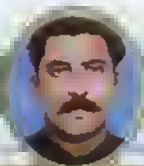
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Abdul Rauf Mughal	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
M Saeed Mughal	Brother	MPA / 08

## Lahore

### M Ahmad Khan Kasuri's family

Dynast: Nawab Muhammad Ahmad Khan Kasuri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sahabzada Ahmad Raza Khan Kasuri	Son	MNA / 70
Sahabzada Khizar Hayat Khan	Son	MNA / 88



## Jhang

### M Iqbal's family

Dynast: Sheikh M Iqbal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shaikh M Iqbal	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 88
Shaikh Waqas Akram	Nephew	State Minister / 08



## Jhang

### M Yousaf's family

Dynast: Muhammad Yousaf

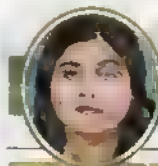
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Yousaf	Himself	MPA / 85
Haji M Yaqoob Sheikh	Son	MPA / 08

## Multan

### Mukhtar Awan's family

Dynast: Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Mukhtar Ahmad Awan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, Fed Minister / 88
Nargis Parveen Awan	Wife	MPA / 08



## Jhelum

### Munawar Raja's family

Dynast: Raja Munawar Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Munawar Ahmad	Himself	Adviser / 70
Falza Ahmad Malik	Daughter	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Maha Raja	Daughter	MPA / 02
Abida Malik	Wife	MNA / 88



## Multan

### Mushtaq Lang's family

Dynast: Malik Mushtaq Ahmad Lang

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Mushtaq Ahmad Lang	Himself	Prov Minister / 93
Naghma Mushtaq Lang	Wife	MPA / 08

## Kasur

### Nakais of Kasur

Dynast: Sardar M Arif Nakai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Arif Nakai	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, CM / 93
Sardar M Asif Nakai	Son	MPA / 08, MNA / 02
Sardar Pervaiz Hassan Nakai	Son	MPA / 02
Sardar Abdul Hamid Nakai	Brother-in-law	MNA / 85
Sardar Tufib Hussain Nakai	Nephew	MNA / 88, MNA / 93, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08



Mianwali

## Naseem Khan Niazi's family

Dynast: M Naseem Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Naseem Khan Niazi	Himself	MPA / 88
All Halder Noor Khan Niazi	Nephew	MPA / 08

Bahawalpur

## Nawab of Bahawalpur's family (Salahuddin)

Dynast: Salahuddin Ahmad Abbasi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Salahuddin Ahmad Abbasi	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Saeed-ur-Rashid Abbasi	Nephew	Slate Minister / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 85
Farooq Anwar Abbasi	Cousin	MPA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97



Bahawalpur

## Nawab of Bahawalpur's family (Usman Khan)

Dynast: Usman Khan Abbasi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Usman Khan Abbasi	Himself	MPA / 85, Dep Speaker-PA / 90, MPA / 97
M Gazain Abbasi	Son	MPA / 08

Gujrat

## Nawabzadas of Gujrat

Dynast: Nawabzada Mazhar Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawabzada Mazhar Ali	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 85, Adviser / 93,
Nawabzada Ghazanfar Ali Gul	Brother	MPA / 88, MNA / 93,
Nawabzada Muzaffar Ali	Brother	MPA / 85
Zafar Mehdi	Cousin	MNA / 77

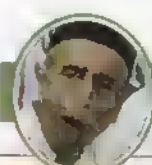


Mianwali / Khushab

## Nawabs of Kalabagh's family

Dynast: Malik Amir Muhammad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawabzada Malik Muzaffar Khan	Son	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Nawabzada Malik Amad Khan	Grandson	State Minister / 08
Malik Ata Muhammad Khan	Son-in-law	MPA / 90
Ayla Malik	Granddaughter	MNA / 02
Sumera Malik	Granddaughter	Fed Minister / 02, MNA / 08



Muzaffargarh

## Nawabzadas of Muzaffargarh

Dynast: Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Mansoor Ahmad Khan	Son	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 97



Jhang

## Nawazish Ali Khan's family

Dynast: Nawazish Ali Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawazish Ali Khan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 70
Muhammad Muzaffar Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Muhammad Zuflqar Ali Khan	Nephew	MPA / 85
Syed Nusrat Ali Shah	Nephew	Fed Minister / 85

Sargodha

## Nawazish Ali Shah's family

Dynast: Nawazish Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawazish Ali Shah	Himself	MPA / 70
Syed Nusrat Ali Shah	Nephew	Fed Minister / 85

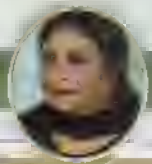


Faisalabad

## Nazir Kohistani's family

Dynast: M Nazir Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
M Nazir Ahmad	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90
Shahid Nazir	Son	MPA / 90, MNA / 93
Zahid Nazir	Son	MPA / 97
Chaudhry M Asim Nazir	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Toba Tek Singh / Karachi

## Nishat Afza's family

Dynast: Nishat Afza

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nishat Afza	Herself	MPA / 02
Fariha Razzaq Haroon	Daughter	MPA / 02





Mianwali

## Niazis of Mianwali

Dynast: Azim Khan Niazi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Inamullah Khan Niazi	Grandson	MPA / 93, MNA / 97
Najeebullah Khan	Grandson	MPA / 97
Imran Khan	Grandson	MNA / 02



Bhakkar

## Niwanis of Bhakkar

Dynast: Capt Ahmad Nawaz Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Capt Ahmad Nawaz Khan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
M Asghar Khan	Brother	MNA / 97
Rasheed Akbar Khan	Nephew	MNA / 88, MNA / 93, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Hafeezullah Khan	Nephew	MPA / 02
Saeed Akbar Khan	Nephew	Adviser / 85, MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 02, Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 08



Sargodha

## Noons of Sargodha

Dynast: Feroze Khan Noon

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Noor Hayat Khan Noon	Son	MNA / 77, MNA / 85,
Adnan Hayat Noon	Grandson	MNA / 97



Lodhran

## Noons of Lodhran

Dynast: Rabb Nawaz Noon

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rabb Nawaz Noon	Himself	MPA / 70
Rana M Ijaz Noon	Brother	MPA / 08
Rana Mumtaz Ahmad Noon	Brother	MNA / 93



Multan

## Noons of Multan

Dynast: Rana Taj Ahmad Noon

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Taj Ahmad Noon	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 88
Rana Shaukat Hayat	Brother	MNA / 85
Rana Ejaz Ahmad Noon	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Rana M Qasim Noon	Nephew	MPA / 02
Rana Suhail Ahmad Noon	Nephew	MPA / 93



Multan

## Noor M Khan Baloch's family

Dynast: Noor Muhammad Khan Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Noor M Khan Baloch	Himself	MPA / 70
Haji Jindwada Khan	Son-in-law	MPA / 85
M Siddiq Khan Baloch	Grandson	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97, MNA / 08



Multan

## Noorul Hassan's family

Dynast: Rana Noorul Hassan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Noorul Hassan	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Rana Mahmudul Hassan	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08

Gujrat

## Paggarwalas

Dynast: Mian Mushtaq Hussain Pagganwala

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Abdul Rashid Pagganwala	Cousin	MPA / 85
Samina Mushtaq Pagganwala	Daughter-in-law	MNA / 08
Mushtaq Hussain Pagganwala	Himself	MNA / 77
Mian M Akhtar Pagganwala	Cousin	MPA / 77
Mian Abdul Rashid Pagganwala	Cousin	MPA / 85



## Chakwal

### Palwasha Muhammadzai's family

Dynast: Palwasha Muhammadzai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Fauzla Behram	Aunt	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 98
Haji Umar Khan	Uncle	Senator / 85
Muhammad Hashim Ali Khan	Grandfather	Senator / 86
Palwasha Muhammadzai	Herself	MNA / 08

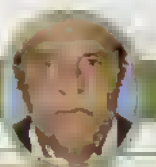


## Sargodha

### Parachas of Bhera

Dynast: Ehsanul Haq Paracha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ehsanul Haq Paracha	Himself	Senator / 94, Senator / 85, MPA / 70, MPA / 77, Caretaker Prov Minister, Fed Minister / 88, Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 90
Anwarul Haq Paracha	Brother	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Inamul Haq Paracha	Brother	Fed Minister / 02



## Lodhran

### Pathans of Lodhran

Dynast: Tahir Hussain Khan Malazai

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Tahir Hussain Khan Malazai	Himself	MPA / 02
Ghulam Qasim Khan Malazai	Uncle	MNA / 97
Hayatullah Khan Tareen	Uncle	MNA / 90, MNA / 08
Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	Uncle	MPA / 02



## Gujranwala

### Pir Ghulam Farid's family

Dynast: Pir Malik Ghulam Farid

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Malik Ghulam Farid	Himself	MPA / 85
Shazia Ashfaq Mattu	Father	MPA / 08

## Sialkot

### Pirs of Alto Mohar

Dynast: Syed Iftikharul Hassan Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Iftikharul Hassan Shah	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Syed Murtaza Amin Shah	Nephew	MNA / 08



## Attock

### Pirs of Attock

Dynast: Pir Syed Safiuddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir Syed Safiuddin	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Pir Syed Abbas Mohyuddin	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 02

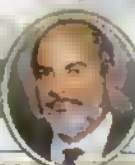


## Layyah

### Pirs of Jaggi Sharif

Dynast: Syed Khurshid Bukhari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Muhammad Khurshid Bukhari	Himself	MNA / 90
Muhammad Iqbal Shah	Brother	MPA / 85
Syed Muhammad Saqlain Bukhari	Son	MNA / 08



## Jhelum

### Pirs of Jalalpur

Dynast: Syed Hasnaat Ahmad Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nawabzada Syed Shams Halder	Cousin	MPA / 93, MPA / 97, MPA / 08
Syed Hasnaat Ahmad Shah	Brother	MPA / 85
Syed Hasnaat Ahmad Shah	Himself	Senator / 91



## Gujrat

### Pirs of Phalia

Dynast: Pir M Yaqoob Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Pir M Yaqoob Shah	Himself	MPA / 90
Pir Syed M Binyamin Rizvi	Son	Adviser / 90, Prov Minister / 97





## Sheikhpura

### Pirs of Sharqpur

Dynast: Mian Saeed Ahmad Sharqpur

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Saeed Ahmad Sharqpur	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Mian Jalil Ahmad Sharqpur	Brother	MNA / 02



## Sargodha

### Pirs of Sial Sharif

Dynast: Sahibzada Ghulam Naseeruddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sahibzada Ghulam Naseeruddin Sialvi	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Khawaja M Hameeduddin Sialvi	Brother	Senator / 88
Ghulam Nizamuddin Sialvi	Son	MPA / 08



## Bahawalpur

### Pirzades of Bahawalpur

Dynast: Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Riaz Hussain Pirzada	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 93, MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Mian Muhammad Kazim Ali Pirzada	Nephew	MPA / 08



## Dera Ghazi Khan

### Qaisranis of DG Khan

Dynast: Sardar Zahoor Ahmad Qaisrani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Zahoor Ahmad Qaisrani	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Sardar Mir Badshah Qaisrani	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Lahore

### Qayyum Nizami's family

Dynast: Qayyum Nizami

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Qayyum Nizami	Himself	MPA / 77
Kishwar Qayyum Nizami	Wife	MPA / 08

## Muzaffargarh

### Qureshis of Muzaffargarh

Dynast: Mohsin Ali Qureshi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mohsin Ali Qureshi	Himself	MNA / 08
Khatida Mohsin Ali Qureshi	Wife	MNA / 02, Senator / 12



## Okara

### Raberas

Dynast: Shafqat Abbas Rabera

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shafqat Abbas Rabera	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MNA / 93
Chaudhry Nadeem Abbas Rabera	Nephew	MPA / 08



## Dera Ghazi Khan

### Rafiq Leghari's family

Dynast: Sardar Rafiq Ahmad Khan Leghari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Rafiq Ahmad Leghari	Himself	MPA / 97, MPA / 93
Muhammad Mohsin Leghari	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08, Senator / 09



## Bahawalnagar

### Rafiq Shah's family

Dynast: Syed Rafiq Muhammad Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Rafiq Muhammad Shah	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77
Syed Nazar Mehmood Shah	Son	MPA / 02
Muhammad Ahmad Shah	Son-in-law	MNA / 85
Syed Asghar Shah	Co-father-in-law	MNA / 90, MNA / 02



## Rahim Yar Khan

### Rafique Haider Leghari's family

Dynast: Sardar Rafiq Haider Khan Leghari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Rafiq Haider Khan Leghari	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 97
Sardar M Azhar Khan Leghari	Cousin	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93
Sardar M Arshad Leghari	Cousin	MNA / 08

## Faisalabad

### Rai Arif Kharal's family

Dynast: Arif Hussain Kharal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai Arif Hussain Kharal	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 85, MNA / 93,
Rai Ejaz Hussain Kharal	Nephew	MPA / 08



## Faisalabad

### Rai Aslam Kharal's family

Dynast: Rai Muhammad Aslam Khan Kharal

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai M Aslam Khan Kharal	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 90,
Rai Jaffar Khan Kharal	Brother	MPA / 85
Khan Shahadat Ali Khan Kharal	Uncle	MNA / 70
Rai M Shah Jehan Khan Kharal	Nephew	MPA / 08



## Sheikhupura

### Rai Bashir Bhatti's family

Dynast: Rai Bashir Ahmad Khan Bhatti

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai Bashir Ahmad Khan Bhatti	Himself	MNA / 93
Rai Rashid Ahmad Khan	Brother	MNA / 77, MNA / 88
Rana Shaukat Mehmood	Brother-in-law	MPA / 70, MPA / 77 Lead Opp-PA / 88
Shah Jehan Ahmad Bhatti	Son	MPA / 08



## Okara

### Rai Noor Muhammad's family

Dynast: Rai Noor Muhammad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai Noor Muhammad	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Adviser / 93
Rai Farooq Umar Khan Kharal	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



## Rahim Yar Khan

### Rais of Bhong

Dynast: Rais Shabbir Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rais Shabbir Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77 MNA / 85, MNA / 88,
Rais Munir Ahmad	Son	State Minister / 02
Rais Ibrahim Khalil Ahmad	Nephew	MPA / 08



## Rahim Yar Khan

### Rais of Liqatpur

Dynast: Rais Mushtaq Ahmad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rais Mushtaq Ahmad	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 93
Rais Muhammad Iqbal	Son-in-law	MPA / 02



## Sahiwal

### Rais of Sahiwal

Dynast: Rai Ahmad Nawaz Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai Ahmad Nawaz Khan	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, State Minister / 90, MNA / 97
Rai Ali Nawaz	Brother	MPA / 85
Rai Hassan Nawaz Khan	Brother	Adviser / 88, Adviser / 90, MPA / 97
Rai Azizuliah Khan	Cousin	MNA / 02

## Sheikhupura

### Rais of Sheikhupura

Dynast: Rai Ijaz Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rai Ijaz Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 02
Rai Ahmad Saeed Khan	Brother	MPA / 85



## Rawalpindi

### Raja Ashfaq Sarwar's family

Dynast: Raja Ashfaq Sarwar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Ashfaq Sarwar Khan	Himself	Prov Minister / 88, MNA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97
Raja Fiaz Sarwar	Cousin	MNA / 08





Okara

## Manzoor Wattoo's family

Dynast: Mian Manzoor Ahmad Khan Wattoo

**Mian Manzoor Ahmad Khan Wattoo**  
 Speaker—PA / 85  
 Speaker—PA / 88  
 Speaker—PA; CM / 90  
 CM / 93  
 Fed Minister / 08

Himself

**Khuram Jahangir Wattoo**

MNA / 08

Son

**Rubina Shahnaz Wattoo**

MNA / 02

MPA / 08

Daughter

**Mohammad Jahangir Ahmad Khan Wattoo**

MPA / 97

Son

Manzoor Wattoo, the founder of his own, relatively new, political dynasty, is a master of the traditional politics of patronage. With a small landholding to bank on, he started his political career as the chairman district council of Okara in 1983. Since then, he has enlarged both his landholding and his political influence, having served as the speaker of Punjab Assembly and chief minister of Punjab from 1993–1996.

Wattoo has also skillfully used party divides and affiliations to his advantage. Until early 1993, he remained loyal to Nawaz Sharif. But that year he managed to create defections from within the members of Punjab Assembly and defeated then chief minister Ghulam Haider Wanie, a Sharif underling, in a no-trust move. Wattoo, then, took over as the chief minister with the backing of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). In the 1993 poll, he was defeated from his home constituency in Okara but returned as the chief minister having won a provincial assembly seat from Faisalabad. His relationship with PPP, however, strained in 1996, leading to Arif Nizai replacing him as the chief minister.

In the elections in 1996 and 2002, the members of Wattoo's family ran on a Pakistan Muslim League faction he himself set up – Pakistan Muslim League Jinnah – but in 2008 they ran as independent candidates who later joined PPP. Since then, Wattoo's stature has been on the rise in the party. In 2012, he was appointed as PPP's Punjab president with the uphill assignment of stemming the rising tides of Imran Khan's Islamicism and Nawaz Sharif's popularity in central Punjab.



Rawalpindi/Lahore

## Sharifs

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif

Mian M Nawaz Sharif

CM / 85

CM / 88

Lead Opp-Fed / 93

PM / 97

PM / 90

Himself

Mian M Shahbaz Sharif

MPA / 88

MNA / 90

Lead Opp-PA / 93

CM / 97

CM / 08

Brother

Mian M Abbas Sharif

MNA / 93

Brother

M Ishaq Dar

MNA / 93

Fed Minister / 97

Senator / 03

Senator / 06

Fed Minister / 08

Senator / 12

Co-father-in-law

Hamza Sharif

MNA / 08

Nephew

Captain M Saifur

MNA / 08

Son-in-law

Mian Sharif and his brothers, migrants from east Punjab but of Kashmir origin, started their family business in Lahore in late 1940s. By the early 1970s, their Ittefaq Group of Companies had grown so big that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto nationalised it. This could well be one reason why Mian Sharif decided to introduce Nawaz Sharif, his son, into the political arena. It was no accident, therefore, that Nawaz Sharif initiated a process of demutualisation of government industry as adviser on financial affairs to Ghulam Jilani, the provincial military governor, from 1981–1985. The Ittefaq Group of Companies was one of the first to go back to its original owners.

Since then Nawaz Sharif has not looked back. With huge investments of personal and public money, an active backing by the military establishment and a rightist ideology that has increasing appeal, at least in central Punjab, he created a political empire that rivaled, and eventually dwarfed, Bhuttos and their Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in terms of political influence. This achievement could well have been a factor behind his attempts at towering above all else in the country – including the all powerful military, the judiciary and the media – leading to his downfall in 1999 in a military coup. After brief stints in jail and eight years in exile in Saudi Arabia, Nawaz Sharif returned to electoral politics in 2007 and knew how to regain his lost political kingdom – by first securing Punjab, then investing public money in high visibility projects, and cozying up to religious and sectarian organisations.

All this would have led to an easy victory for him at the 2013 poll, especially given PPP's recent dismal performance; enter Imran Khan and his Tehreek-e-Insaf. Through years of experience of running Punjab, Nawaz Sharif knows it is in Punjab that he faces the greatest challenge but he also knows how to win the hearts and minds of the voters in the province – throw public money around, blend religion and morality with politics and let people believe that you are on the verge of attaining power. The formula may very well work again this time around.

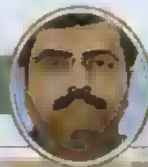


## Jhelum

### Raja Sikandar's family

Dynast: Raja Sikandar Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Sikandar Khan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Raja Nasir Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 88, MPA / 90



## Jhelum

### Rajas of Jhelum

Dynast: Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan	Himself	MPA / 70 MNA / 85, MNA / 88, Senator / 91 MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Raja Muhammad Asad Khan	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Raja Muhammad Safdar	Son	MNA / 08

## Sahiwal

### Rajas of Sahiwal

Dynast: Ahmad Saeed Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ahmad Saeed Khan	Himself	MNA / 77
Raja Shahid Saeed Khan	Son	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, State Minister / 90, MNA / 97

## Gujranwala

### Rajas of Wazirabad

Dynast: Raja Khaliqullah Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Raja Khaliqullah Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Raja Jameelullah Khan	Brother	MPA / 70, MPA / 77



## Jhang

### Rajbanas

Dynast: Arif Khan Sial Rajbana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Arif Khan Sial Rajbana	Himself	MNA / 85
Khan Jawad Ali Khan Rajbana	Grandson	MPA / 97



## Chakwal

### Rajputs of Tamman

Dynast: Sardar Mumtaz Khan Tamman

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Mumtaz Khan Tamman	Himself	MNA / 93, MNA / 08
Muhammad Faiz Malik Tamman	Nephew	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



## Sialkot

### Rana Shamim's family

Dynast: Rana Shamim Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Shamim Ahmad Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, Adviser / 93, MPA / 08
Rana Abdul Saltar	Son	MNA / 08



## Sheikhupura

### Rana Tanvir Hussain's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar	Himself	PP / 77
Rana Tanvir Hussain	Son	MNA / 85, MNA / 90, MNA / 97, Fed Minister / 08
Rana Afzaaf Hussain	Son	MNA / 08



## Gujranwala

### Rana Wakeel's family

Dynast: Chaudhry Abdul Wakeel Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Abdul Wakeel Khan	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Chaudhry Shamshad Ahmad Khan	Son	MPA / 97, Prov Minister / 02



## Faisalabad

### Ranas of Faisalabad

Dynast: Rana Zahid Tauseef

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Zahid Tauseef	Himself	MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Asif Tauseef	Brother	MNA / 02, State Minister / 08

## Gujranwala

### Ranas of Kamoki

Dynast: Rana Nazir Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Nazir Ahmad Khan	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, State Minister / 90, MNA / 97, MNA / 08
Rana Umair Nazir Khan	Son	MNA / 02



## Kasur

### Ranas of Phoolnagar

Dynast: Rana Phool Muhammad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rana Phool M Khan	Himself	MPA / 70, MPA / 77, MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 88, Prov Minister / 90
Rana M Iqbal Khan	Son	Prov Minister / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, Speaker-PA / 08
Rana M Ishaq Khan	Nephew	MPA / 85, MNA / 08
Rana M Hayat Khan	Nephew	MNA / 90, MNA / 97, MPA / 97

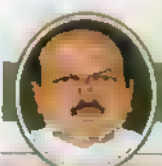


## Gujrat / Mandi Bahauddin

### Ranjhas of Mandi Bahauddin

Dynast: Chaudhry Ikramullah Ranjha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ikramullah Ranjha	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Fazal Ahmad Ranjha	Son	MPA / 02



## Sargodha

### Ranjhas of Sargodha

Dynast: Shah Nawaz Ranjha

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shah Nawaz Ranjha	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90, MPA / 97
Nazir Ahmad Ranjha	Brother	MPA / 77



## Okara

### Rao Afzal's family

Dynast: Rao Muhammad Afzal Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rao M Afzal Khan	Himself	MNA / 88, MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Rao Sikandar Iqbal	Nephew	Fed Minister / 88, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 02
Rao Qaiser Ali Khan	Cousin	MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Rao M Ajmal Khan	Son	MNA / 02

## Kasur

### Raos of Kasur

Dynast: Rao Khizar Hayat Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Rao Khizar Hayat Khan	Himself	MNA / 85, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93
Rao Mazhar Hayat Khan	Son	MNA / 08



## Lahore

### Rehana Sarwar's family

Dynast: Rehana Sarwar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Begum Rehana Sarwar	Herself	Fed Minister / 88, MPA / 70, MPA / 77
Tafat Yaqoob	Sister	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



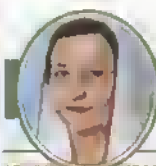
## Vehari

### Riaz Daultana's family

Dynast: Mian Riaz Ahmad Khan Daultana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Riaz Ahmad Khan Daultana	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 85
Begum Nadira Khan Khakwani	Sisler	Fed Minister / 88, Senator / 94
Tehmina Daultana	Daughter	MNA / 93, State Minister / 97, MNA / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Belum Hasnain	Niece	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Azeem Daultana	Grandson	MNA / 08
Natasha Daultana	Grand daughter	MNA / 08





Toba Tek Singh / Bahawalnagar

**Riaz Fatiana's family**

Dynast: Riaz Fatiana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Riaz Fatiana	Himself	Adviser / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MNA / 02, MPA / 08
Ashita Riaz Fatiana	Wife	Prov Minister / 02
Afzal Wattoo	Father-in-law	MNA / 77

Multan

**Riaz Hussain Qureshi's family**

Dynast: Riaz Hussain Qureshi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Riaz Hussain Qureshi	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 88
Muhammad Moenuddin Riaz Qureshi	Son	MPA / 02



Mianwali

**Rokhri's**

Dynast: Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Amir Abdullah Khan Rokhri	Himself	MNA / 77, PP / 70, Senator / 85, Senator / 91
Gul Hameed Khan Rokhri	Nephew	Adviser / 85, Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 02
Amir Hayat Khan Rokhri	Son	MPA / 90, MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Adil Abdullah Rokhri	Grandson	MPA / 08
Humair Hayat Rokhri	Grandson	MNA / 08

Multan

**Sadaruddin Shah's family**

Dynast: Syed Sadaruddin Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Sadaruddin Shah	Himself	MPA / 77
Syed Javed Ali Shah	Nephew	MPA / 1988, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97, Senator / 2006
Syed Fakhruddin Shah	Brother	MPA / 85
Syed Mujahid Ali Shah	Son	MPA / 02



Multan

**Saeed Ansari's family**

Dynast: Haji Saeed Ahmad Ansari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Saeed Ahmad Ansari	Himself	MPA / 93
Aamir Saeed Ansari	Son	MPA / 08



Faisalabad

**Safdar Shakir's family**

Dynast: Chaudhry Safdar Shakir

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Safdar Shakir	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97, MNA / 02
Irshad Saldar	Wife	MPA / 02



Faisalabad

**Sahis of Faisalabad**

Dynast: Muhammad Afzal Sahi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Afzal Sahi	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97, Speaker-PA / 02
Lt Col (retd) Ghulam Rasool Sahi	Brother	MNA / 02
Zafar Zulkarnain Sahi	Nephew	MPA / 08



Faisalabad

**Sahutras**

Dynast: Peter John Sahutra

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Peter John Sahutra	Himself	MPA / 85, MNA / 88, State Minister / 90, MNA / 97
Joel Amir Sahutra	Son	MPA / 08
Razla Joseph	Sister-in-law	MPA / 08



Gujrat

**Sammats of Gujrat**

Dynast: Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Samma

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Muhammad Anwar Samma	Himself	Prov Minister / 70
Ijaz Ahmad Samma	Nephew	MPA / 02

## Kasur

### Sardar Ahmad Ali's family

Dynast: Sardar Ahmad Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Asit Ahmad Ali	Son	MNA / 93, MNA / 85, MNA / 90, Fed Minister / 08
Sardar Ahmad Ali	Himself	MNA / 77

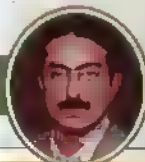


Toba Tek Singh

### Sardar Altaf Hussain's family

Dynast: Sardar Altaf Hussain

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Nazia Raheel	Daughter-in-law	MPA / 08
Sardar Saeed Anwar	Son	MPA / 97
Sardar Altaf Hussain	Himself	MPA / 85



Attock

### Sardar Asad Ali Khan's family

Dynast: Sardar Asad Ali Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Asad Ali Khan	Himself	MPA / 77
Sardar Muhammad Ali Khan	Son	MPA / 02



Kasur

### Sardar Dogar's family

Dynast: Sardar Muhammad Sharif

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Muhammad Sharif	Himself	MPA / 93
Sardar Shaukat Ali Dogar	Nephew	MPA / 02



Attock

### Sardars of Attock

Dynast: Sardar M Sadiq Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar M Sadiq Khan	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Major (ret'd) Tahir Sadiq	Son	MPA / 97
Eman Waseem	Grand daughter	MNA / 02

## Lahore

### Sardars of Lahore

Dynast: Sardar Kamil Umar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Arif Rasheed	Himself	Prov Minister / 85
Sardar Kamil Umar	Cousin	MNA / 97



Jhang

### Sardarzada Zaffar Abbas's family

Dynast: Sardarzada Zaffar Abbas

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardarzada Zaffar Abbas	Himself	MNA / 88, Lead Opp-PA / 77, Adviser / 85
Syed Hassan Murtaza	Nephew	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Jhang

### Sardarzadas of Chinlot

Dynast: Sardarzada Muhammad Ali Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardarzada Muhammad Ali Shah	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, Fed Minister / 85
Muhammad Tahir Shah	Brother	MNA / 02, MPA / 90, Adviser / 93

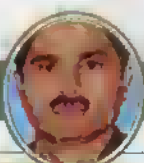


Rahim Yar Khan

### Senator Tariq Chaudhry's family

Dynast: Tariq Muhammad Chaudhry

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Tariq M Chaudhry	Himself	Senator / 85, Senator / 91
Ch M Shafique Anwar	Brother-in-law	Prov Minister / 02, MPA / 08



Lahore

### Shabbir Ahmad Khan's family

Dynast: Shabbir Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shabbir Ahmad Khan	Himself	MNA / 88, MPA / 77
Advocate Tariq Shabbir	Son	MNA / 08





Mianwali

## Shadikhels

Dynast: Haji Ghulam Rasool Khan Shadikhel

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Haji Ghulam Rasool Khan Shadikhel	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 85, Adviser / 90, MPA / 97
Ubalduh Khan Shadikhel	Son	MNA / 93
Amanatullah Khan Shadikhel	Son	MPA / 02

Narowal

## Shafaat Ahmad Khan's family

Dynast: Shafaat Ahmad Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Lt Col (retd) Shujaat Ahmad Khan	Brother	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Shafaat Ahmad Khan	Himself	MNA / 85



Faisalabad

## Shahadat Baloch's family

Dynast: Khan Shahadat Ali Khan Baloch

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khan Shahadat Ali Khan Baloch	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Raheela Perveen	Daughter	MNA / 08



Rawalpindi

## Shahana Farooqi's family

Dynast: Shahana Nasim Farooqi

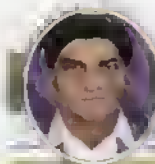
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shahana Nasim Farooqi	Herself	MPA / 88
Khadija Nasreen Farooqi	Daughter	MPA / 02, MPA / 02

Bhakkar

## Shahanis of Bhakkar

Dynast: Amanullah Khan Shahani

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Amanullah Khan Shahani	Himself	MNA / 85, MPA / 77
Naeemullah Khan Shahani	Son	Adviser / 90, MPA / 97, MPA / 02



Sheikhupura

## Shahs of Sheikhupura

Dynast: Syed Akbar Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Akbar Shah	Himself	MNA / 88, MPA / 93
Syed Abrar Hussain Shah	Brother	MPA / 08



Lahore

## Shaikh Rashid's family

Dynast: Shaikh Muhammad Rashid

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shaikh Muhammad Rashid	Himself	Fed Minister / 70, Fed Minister / 77
Shakeela Khanum Rashid	Wife	MNA / 02, MNA / 08



Rahim Yar Khan

## Shaukat Basra's family

Dynast: Shaukat Mahmood Basra

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shaukat Mahmood Basra	Himself	MPA / 08
Col (retd) Naveed Iqbal Sajid	Brother-in-law	MPA / 08



Rahim Yar Khan

## Shaukat Dawood's family

Dynast: Shaukat Dawood

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shaukat Dawood	Himself	MPA / 90, MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 97
Mian Sharif	Father	MPA / 77



Rajanpur

## Shaukat Mazari's family

Dynast: Sardar Shaukat Hussain Mazari

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sardar Shaukat Hussain Mazari	Himself	MPA / 77 MPA / 88, Dep Speaker-PA / 02, MPA / 08
Alif Hussain Mazari	Nephew	MPA / 08
Dur-e Shahwar Mazari	Mother-in-law	MNA / 85
Sardar Ashiq M Khan Mazari	Father-in-law	MNA / 88



Multan

## Sheikh Muhammad Rashid's family

Dynast: Sheikh Muhammad Rashid

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sheikh Muhammad Rashid	Himself	MNA / 85
Shaikh Muhammad Tahir Rasheed	Son	MPA / 90, MNA / 93, MNA / 97
Sheikh Muhammad Tariq Rasheed	Son	MNA / 08



Bahawalpur

## Sheikhs of Bahawalpur

Dynast: Shujaullah Sheikh

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Shujaullah Sheikh	Himself	MNA / 77
Samiullah Sheikh	Brother	MPA / 93
Arif Aziz Sheikh	Nephew	MNA / 08



Jhang

## Sheikhs of Jhang

Dynast: Asifa Farooqi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Asifa Farooqi	Herself	Senator / 75, MPA / 08
Sheikh Nafeesuddin Farooqi	Brother	MPA / 77

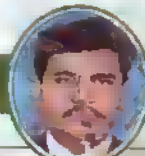


Lahore

## Sheikhs of Lahore

Dynast: Sheikh Muhammad Asghar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Sheikh Muhammad Asghar	Himself	MPA / 70
Shakeel Asghar	Son	MPA / 85
Sheikh Rehail Asghar	Son	MNA / 85, MPA / 90, MNA / 08



Faisalabad

## Simon Jacob's family

Dynast: Simon Jacob Gill

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Simon Jacob Gill	Himself	MNA / 97
Patrick Jacob Gill	Brother	MPA / 02



Sargodha

## Sindhus of Bhalwai

Dynast: Fakhar Iqbal Sindhu

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Fakhar Iqbal Sindhu	Himself	MPA / 02
Tahir Ahmad Sindhu	Brother	MPA / 08
Zahid Iqbal Sindhu	Brother	MPA / 02



Lahore

## Sulehri's of Lahore

Dynast: Arshad Imran Sulehri

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Arshad Imran Sulehri	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Fareeda Rafiq Sulehri	Sister-in-law	MPA / 02

Jhang

## Sultan Bahu's family (1)

Dynast: Khizar Hayat Sultan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khizar Hayat Sultan	Himself	MPA / 88
Muhammad Tahir Sultan	Son	MNA / 97





Jhang

**Sultan Bahu's family (2)**

Dynast: Muhammad Nazir Sultan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Nazir Sultan	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93
Muhammad Mehboob Sultan	Nephew	MNA / 02, MNA / 08

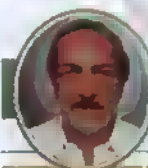


Layyah

**Sumras**

Dynast: Mahr Fazal Hussain Sumra

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mahr Fazal Hussain Sumra	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 02
Mahr Manzoor Hussain Sumra	Brother	MNA / 70



Toba Tek Singh / Khanewal

**Syed Ali Raza Shah's family**

Dynast: Makhdoom Syed Ali Raza Shah

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Makhdoom Syed Ali Raza Shah	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 85, Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, Adviser / 93, PP / 08
Syed Mukhtar Hussain	Cousin	MPA / 93, MPA / 02
Syed Hussain Raza Shah	Son	MPA / 02



Bahawalpur

**Syed Ishtiaque Azhar's family**

Dynast: Syed Ishtiaque Azhar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Ishtiaque Azhar	Himself	Senator / 91
Najma Tabish Alwari	Daughter	MPA / 85
Syed Tabish Alwari	Son-in-law	MPA / 70, MPA / 1993



Lodhran

**Syed Nasruddin's family**

Dynast: Syed Nasruddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Akbar Ali Shah	Brother	MPA / 93
Syed Muhammad Rafiuddin Bukhari	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Jhang

**Syeds of Shah Jeuna**

Dynast: Syed Muhammad Ghaus

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Syed Asad Hayat	Son	MNA / 93
Syed Faisal Saleh Hayat	Son	MNA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 90, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 02, Fed Minister / 08
Syed Iftikhar Ali Bukhari	Cousin	MPA / 77, State Minister / 88
Syed Zulfiqar Ali Bukhari	Cousin	MNA / 1977



Bahawalnagar

**Tahir Mehmood's family**

Dynast: Muhammad Tahir Mehmood

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Tahir Mehmood	Himself	MPA / 02
Kashit Mehmood	Nephew	MPA / 02



Vehari

**Tareens of Vehari**

Dynast: Khan Irshad Ahmad Khan Tareen

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Khan Irshad Ahmad Khan Tareen	Himself	MNA / 70
Azhar Ahmad Khan Yousafzai	Uncle	MNA / 02
Israr Ahmad Khan Tareen	Brother	MPA / 88
Mehmood Hayat Tareen alias Tochi Khan	Brother	MPA / 93, MNA / 08



Sialkot / Narowal

**Tariq Anees's family**

Dynast: Chaudhary Muhammad Tariq Anees

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhary Muhammad Tariq Anees	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93, State Minister / 08
Lt Col (retd) M Abbas Chaudhry	Brother	MPA / 02, MPA / 08



Gujrat

**Tariq Mehmood's family**

Dynast: Mian Tariq Mehmood

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Tariq Mehmood	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90, MPA / 97, MPA / 08
Maria Tariq	Daughter	MPA / 02



Lahore

**Tariq Aziz's family**

Dynast: Tariq Aziz

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Tariq Aziz	Himself	MNA / 97
Dr Hajra Tariq Aziz	Wife	MNA / 02



Hafizabad

**Tarrars of Hafizabad**

Dynast: Afzal Hussain Tarrar

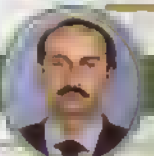
Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Afzal Hussain Tarrar	Himself	MNA / 90, MNA / 97
Saira Afzal Tarrar	Daughter	MNA / 08

Gujrat

**Tarrars of Jukalian**

Dynast: Chaudhry Ghulam Rasool Tarrar

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ch Ghulam Rasool Tarrar	Himself	MNA / 70, MNA / 77, MPA / 85
Ch Munawar Hussain Tarrar	Son	MPA / 88
Zafarullah Tarrar	Son	MNA / 93



Khushab

**Tiwanas of Khushab**

Dynast: Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan Tiwana

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan Tiwana	Himself	Prov Minister / 85, Caretaker Prov Minister / MNA / 88, Prov Minister / 90
Ghulam Muhammad Tiwana	Brother	MPA / 88, MNA / 90
Malik Muhammad Saifullah Tiwana	Brother	MNA / 02
Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan Wadhal	Brother -in-law	MPA / 90
Malik Muhammad Anwar Khan Tiwana	Cousin	MPA / 77



Lahore

**Ubaidullah Shaikh's family**

Dynast: Ubaidullah Shaikh

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ubaidullah Shaikh	Himself	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Abdul Manan Shaikh	Brother	MPA / 97

Faisalabad

**Umar Daraz Khan's family**

Dynast: Chaudhry Umar Daraz Khan

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Umar Daraz Khan	Himself	MPA / 77, MPA / 88
Chaudhry Nisar Akbar Khan	Brother -in-law	MNA / 77, MNA / 88
Sajjad Akbar Khan	Brother -in-law	MPA / 88



Rawalpindi

**Umar Farooq's family**

Dynast: Malik Umar Farooq

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Umar Farooq	Himself	MPA / 97
Zille Huma	Wife	MPA / 08



Bhakkar

**Utras**

Dynast: Malik Nazir Ahmad Utra

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Nazir Ahmad Utra	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 93
Malik Adil Hussain Utra	Son	MPA / 08
Malik Ghazanfar Ali	Brother -in-law	MPA / 90





## Slakot

### Vairus

Dynast: Chaudhry Akhtar Ali

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Akhtar Ali	Himself	MPA / 85, Prov Minister / 88, MPA / 90, MNA / 93
Chaudhry Abdul Sattar	Brother	MNA / 88, MNA / 90, Caretaker Fed Minister, MNA / 93
Chaudhry Khush Akhtar Subhani	Son	MPA / 90, Prov Minister / 93, MPA / 02
Armghan Subhani	Nephew	MPA / 93, Prov Minister / 02



## Nankana Sahib

### Virks of Nankana Sahib

Dynast: Chaudhry Tawakkalullah Virk

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Tawakkalullah Virk	Himself	MPA / 77, MNA / 88, MNA / 93
Chaudhry Bilal Ahmad Virk	Nephew	MNA / 08

## Gujranwala

### Virks of Naushera

Dynast: Chaudhry Khalid Javed Virk

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Khalid Javed Virk	Himself	MPA / 1985, MPA / 1988, MPA / 1990
Chaudhry Khalid Pervaz Virk	Brother	MPA / 1993, MPA / 2008



## Mandi Bahauddin

### Waheeduddin's family

Dynast: Mian Waheeduddin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Waheeduddin	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 90
Hameedah Waheeduddin	Daughter	MPA / 02



## Multan/Khanewal

### Wahlas

Dynast: Chaudhry Abdul Rehman Wahla

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Abdul Rehman Wahla	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 88
Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan	Brother	MNA / 70
Chaudhry Fazal Dad Wahla	Son	MNA / 88
Chaudhry Karam Dad Wahla	Son	MPA / 08



## Bahawalnagar

### Waineses of Bahawalnagar

Dynast: Ali Akbar Mazhar Wains

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ali Akbar Mazhar Wains	Himself	MPA / 88, MNA / 93, MNA / 02
Muhammad Abdullah Wains	Son	MPA / 02



## Gujrat

### Warrachs of Gujrat

Dynast: Chaudhry Riaz Ahmad Warrach

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Riaz Ahmad Warrach	Himself	MPA / 77
Chaudhry Riaz Ahmad Warrach	Son	MPA / 08
Chaudhry Abdullah Yousaf Warrach	Brother-in-law	MPA / 02, MPA / 08

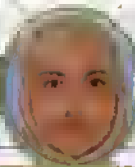


## Rahim Yar Khan

### Warrachs of Rahim Yar Khan

Dynast: Zaffar Iqbal Warrach

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Zaffar Iqbal Warrach	Himself	MPA / 85, State Minister / 02
Javed Iqbal Warrach	Cousin	MNA / 08



## Toba Tek Singh

### Warrachs of Toba Tek Singh

Dynast: Chaudhry Ali Asghar Warrach

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Chaudhry Ali Asghar Warrach	Himself	MPA / 77
Amjad Ali Warrach	Son	MPA / 90, MNA / 02
Bilal Asghar Warrach	Son	MPA / 02, MPA / 08
Khalid Javed Warrach	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Farkhanda Amjad Warrach	Daughter-in-law	MNA / 08



Multan

## Quraishis of Multan

Dynast: Makhdoom M Sajjad Hussain Quraishi

Makhdoom M Sajjad Hussain Quraishi	
MNA / 77	Himself
Gov / 85	
Senator / 85	

Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Quraishi	
MPA / 85	Son
Prov Minister / 88	
Prov Minister / 90	
Fed Minister / 93	
MNA / 02	
Fed Minister / 08	

Pir Shujaat Mahmood Quraishi	
MPA / 77	Son-in-law
Senator / 90	
MPA / 93	
MPA / 97	
Senator / 85	

Makhdoom Syed M Ahsan Shah	
MPA / 85	Son-in-law
MPA / 90	

Makhdoomade Munir Hussain Quraishi	
MPA / 90	Son
MPA / 93	

Pir Zahoor Hussain Quraishi	
MPA / 02	Grandson

Qureshis are the descendants of 13th century saints Bahauddin Zakria and Shah Rukn-e-Alam. They have large spiritual following in southern Punjab and lower Sindh. Two members of Qureshi family who earned political eminence in 1960s were Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi and Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi. Both have been in the legislative houses in 1960s.

In 1970s, they joined Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Sadiq Hussain Qureshi became the governor of Punjab (1973-1975) and the chief minister (1975-1977) much to the displeasure of the party's workers and activists. Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi switched his loyalties to General Ziaul Haq after 1977 and became the deputy chairman of the Senate and then the governor of Punjab in 1985.

Shah Mahmood Qureshi, his son, became his political successor. He was a Nawaz Sharif loyalist until 1993 when he joined PPP after Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz denied him a National Assembly ticket preferring his arch-rival Javed Hashmi. Between then and 2008, Shah Mahmood Qureshi rose through the PPP ranks to become their Punjab head. When the party came into power, he got the highly important post of foreign minister even though he was a candidate for prime minister.

Shah Mahmood Qureshi was never comfortable in the cabinet of Yousaf Raza Gilani, the then prime minister. He resigned in 2011 in protest against the change in his portfolio in a ministerial reshuffle. Later that year, he joined Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and is now its vice-chairman. Though he is contesting two National Assembly seats in Multan on a PTI ticket, he is running as an independent candidate in Unerkot where he enjoys a lot of spiritual following. Munir Hussain Qureshi, his brother, is running for a provincial assembly seat as a PPP candidate.



## Bahawalpur



### Warrans of Bahawalpur (1)

Dynast: Ahmad Yar Warran

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ahmad Yar Warran	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 88
Khadlja Amir Yar Malik	Daughter -in-law	MNA / 08
Malik Amir Yar Warran	Son	MNA / 02, MNA / 08
Malik Jehanzeb Warran	Nephew	MPA / 08

## Bahawalpur



### Warrans of Bahawalpur (2)

Dynast: Malik Qadir Bukhsh Warran

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Qadir Bukhsh Warran	Himself	MPA / 90
Malik Khalid Mehmood Warran	Son	Adviser / 02

## Faisalabad



### Waseers of Faisalabad

Dynast: Malik Nawab Sher Waseer

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Nawab Sher Waseer	Himself	MPA / 88, MPA / 93, MNA / 08
Raza Shahid Waseer	Son	MPA / 02

## Faisalabad



### Wattoos of Faisalabad

Dynast: Malik Noor Muhammad

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Malik Noor Muhammad	Himself	MPA / 88
Malik Ahmad Yar Wattoo	Brother	MPA / 97
Malik Shamsher Haider Wattoo	Nephew	MPA / 08

## Khanewal



### Wynes

Dynast: Ghulam Haider Wyne

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Ghulam Haider Wyne	Himself	Prov Minister / 85, MNA / 88, CM / 90
Majeeda Begum Wyne	Wife	MNA / 97

## Sahiwal / Okara

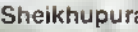


### Yaseen Wattoo's family

Dynast: Mian Muhammad Yaseen Wattoo

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Muhammad Yaseen Wattoo	Himself	Fed Minister / 77, Fed Minister / 85, Fed Minister / 90, MNA / 93, Fed Minister / 97
Muhammad Mueen Wattoo	Brother	MPA / 08

## Sheikhupura



### Zahid Yasin's family

Dynast: Mian Zahid Yasin

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Mian Zahid Yasin	Himself	MPA / 85, MPA / 90
Mian Hamid Yasin	Brother	MNA / 70

## Sargodha



### Zakir Qureshi's family

Dynast: Muhammad Zakir Qureshi

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Muhammad Zakir Qureshi	Himself	MNA / 77, MNA / 70
Mazhar Ahmad Qureshi	Nephew	MPA / 90, MPA / 93, MNA / 02
Muhammad Ilyas Qureshi	Son	MPA / 93, MPA / 97
Muhammad Munir Qureshi	Nephew	MPA / 97, MPA / 02
Muhammad Saeed Qureshi	Brother	Senator / 85
Mian Amir Haider Qureshi	Brother- in-law	Senator / 85

## Faisalabad



### Zubeida Malik's family

Dynast: Zubeida Malik's family

Members	Relationship	Position / Year
Zubeida Malik	Herself	MPA / 88
Noor-un-Nisa Malik	Daughter- in-law	MPA / 02

*Note: Images accompanying each of the listed families are not necessarily of the dynast but may at times depict other members of that family.*